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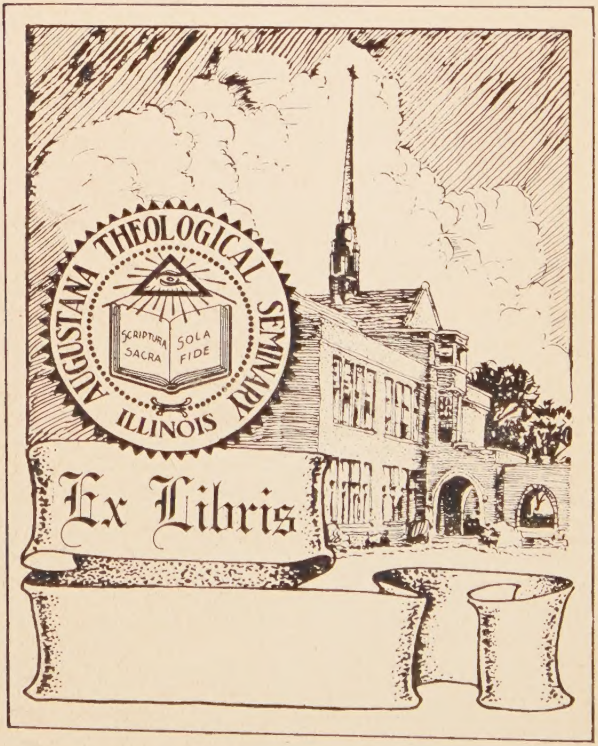

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THE SPIRIT OF WORSHIP

THE SPIRIT OF WORSHIP

ITS FORMS AND MANIFESTATIONS IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

With an additional Essay on

CATHOLICITY

EASTERN, ROMAN, AND EVANGELICAL

By FRIEDRICH HEILER

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With a Foreword by

The Very Rev. G. K. A. BELL, D.D.

DEAN OF CANTERBURY

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TO THE

STOCKHOLM WORLD-CONFERENCE

ON LIFE AND WORK

(AUGUST 19–30, 1925)

A HARBINGER OF CHRISTIAN UNITY

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

CONTENTS

PAGE

FOREWORD ix

PREFACE xiv

I. THE SPIRIT OF WORSHIP

CHAP.

I. THE REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN THE CHURCH'S WORSHIP 3

II. UNITED WORSHIP IN THE EARLY CHURCH . 21

III. THE LITURGIES OF THE EASTERN CHURCH . 45

IV. THE ROMAN LITURGY 58

V. THE LUTHERAN SERVICE 75

VI. THE CALVINISTIC SERVICE. THE FORM OF WORSHIP OF THE QUAKERS, MORAVIANS, AND OTHERS 95

VII. THE ANGLICAN, OLD-CATHOLIC, AND CATHOLIC-APOSTOLIC LITURGIES . . 107

VIII. UNITY IN DIVERSITY 113

II. CATHOLICITY, EASTERN, ROMAN, AND EVANGELICAL

I. HISTORICAL OUTLINE 123

II. THE EASTERN CHURCH 132

III. THE ROMAN CHURCH 149

IV. THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES 173

V. 'DIVERSITIES OF GIFTS' AND THE SPIRIT OF UNITY 189

NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY 197

INDEX. 211

'I KNOW nothing that is higher or more fair than the worship of my Lord; there all man's arts combine in the service of adoration; there is his countenance transfigured, his very form and voice made new; there he giveth God the glory; yea, the holy Liturgy of the Church surpasseth all the Poetry of the World.'

WILHELM LÖHE
(*Homilies on the Epistles*, i. 134).

FOREWORD

BY THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY

FRIEDRICH HEILER, the author of the studies in the *Spirit of Worship* and *Catholicity* contained in this volume, is here introduced for the first time to English readers. Amongst German theologians he holds a place apart, but none the less influential: and his books have made and continue to make a deep impression wherever they are known.

He was born in 1892, the son of a devout, broadminded Roman Catholic teacher of Biburg near Augsburg. Even as a boy at the top of his school in Munich, he devoted much time to theological studies. At the age of eighteen he first came into touch with Protestant Biblical critics such as Harnack, Wernle and Deissmann, as well as Catholic modernists like Loisy and Tyrrell. It was,

however, Nathan Soderblom, now Archbishop of Upsala, who as Professor at Leipzig had the greatest influence upon him as a young man; and it is to him that he looks as his master. Brought up in a Roman Catholic home, he kept to the Church of his parents until 1919. In that year he delivered a course of lectures in Sweden, at the Archbishop of Upsala's invitation, and during his visit, after preaching in Vadstena in connection with the Swedish Church Congress, received the Holy Communion according to the Evangelical rites. 'By this religious act,' he says, 'without an open breach and without formal secession from the Roman Catholic Church, I entered the Evangelical Church fellowship.'

In March 1920 he was nominated a Professor of the History of Comparative Religions in the Evangelical Faculty of Theology at Marburg; and, appointed a regular professor two years later, he has held the same post ever since.

His literary works, though he is not yet thirty-five, are considerable and varied. The two which have made his name best known in Europe are *Das Gebet* (Prayer) (1918), acclaimed by many as a profoundly spiritual work not less notable because written in the full height of the War, and *Catholicism, Its Idea and Its Manifestations* (1923), which has given rise to much controversy and discussion. His other writings include books on Sadhu Sundar Singh, Buddhism, Luther, Jesus and Socialism, Evangelical Catholicity, and St. Francis, the last two published this year.

The present volume is not of course on so large a scale as the first two mentioned above, but it offers an excellent introduction to some of the leading ideas in Heiler's works, ideas which can hardly fail to stimulate and interest men and women who reflect on religion and theology at the present day. Heiler stands for a type of Catholicity which he would probably refuse to call new—though

circumstances may seem to make it such; a Catholicity which hopes more perhaps from the ideals of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work than from those of the World Conference on Faith and Order; a Catholicity of Faith and Love. He describes his position as 'neither Protestant nor Roman Catholic, but ecumenically Christian, that is evangelical Catholic.' His ecumenical Christianity is sustained by the faith 'that the living Christ moves in all Christian Churches, and that the fullness of truth is not to be found in any particular Church (be it even the greatest of all, the Roman), but in the true *Ecclesia Universalis*, which stands behind and above the separate confessions.'

Naturally, as he says, such a position leaves not only Roman Catholics but many Protestants discontented. Yet he insists on retaining alike the Catholic and the Evangelical title, repeating of himself, *Christianus mihi nomen, Catholicus cognomen*, and holding that it is only in the association which he describes

as 'Evangelical Catholicity' that satisfaction can be found in the end.

Friedrich Heiler, whether we agree or disagree with his conclusions, is without doubt a voice to be heard by Christian thinkers and Church leaders at the present day. I rejoice that the happiness of securing his friendship at Stockholm last year has procured me also the privilege of introducing this first example of his teaching to an English audience.

August 1926.

PREFACE

The first edition of this little book, which was based on a lecture delivered in Rheidt and Düsseldorf (January 1921), and in Frankfort (April 1921), has long been out of print. The meeting of the Œcumenical Conference in the present year seemed to me a fitting occasion for the issue of a new edition. The book has been completely recast, and it is only here and there that it follows the lines of the original edition. In its present form it is based on a lecture delivered at Malmö in April 1923 (printed in Swedish under the title *The Principal Forms of Church Service; Christianity and the Present Day*, 1924, 31 pp.), and in February 1925 at Leipzig and Dresden.

As I have given in my large book on Catholicism a full description of the Roman service, I have not been able to accord it here the detailed treatment to which its intrinsic importance would entitle it.

In this memorable year, when all Christian Churches, with the exception of the Roman, are combining to work together, may it be vouchsafed to this little book to strengthen in Christian hearts the thought of unity, that unity which is not uniformity, but unity in diversity, that unity of which Luther speaks in the following passage :—

'Therefore this unity of the Church does not consist in having and holding one single form of external government, of laws or ordinances or Church usages . . . but exists wherever there is unanimity in the one faith. It is called One Holy Catholic or Christian Church, because there is in it one pure unadulterated teaching of the Gospel and the outward confession of the same, in all places of the world and in every age, no matter what diversity and difference there may be otherwise, as in the external corporeal life or in outward customs, ordinances, and ceremonies.' (*Church Homilies*, 17th Sunday after Trinity, Luther's *Werke*, Erlangen Edition, 9^2, 286.)

THE AUTHOR.

MARBURG, *On the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul*, 1925.

'The Liturgy is not merely a philosophy, it is not merely a noble poem; it is in very truth the medium of a transforming life-enhancing communication of the grace of Christ in His Church.

'The Liturgy was of old a formative life-force; it was the impress of the Spirit, which at once inspired and gave form to the young and vigorous life of the Christianity of the Early Centuries . . . the Liturgy as the embodied expression of the Christian Spirit must again become a formative life-force for us Christians of to-day.'

Abbot Ildefons Herwegen
(*Alte Quellen neuer Kraft*, 68, 77).

THE SPIRIT OF WORSHIP

CHAPTER I

THE REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN THE CHURCH'S WORSHIP

THE thought and life of present-day Christianity shows—alike in the various Communions—two noteworthy characteristics. The first is *a turning away from the subjectivity of religious experience to the objectivity of the Divine revelation.*[1] On all sides there is a growing tendency to discard that religious subjectivity and introversion which dissolves the reality of God, of His revelation and redemptive work, into vague inward yearnings and intuitions. The father of this subjective religion of immanence was Schleiermacher, who found the essence of religion in the 'feeling' of dependence and the 'intuition' of the universe. Schleiermacher's theory of a religion of immanence was revived in a very attractive form by Auguste Sabatier. His work on the Philosophy of Religion, which set the subjective

experience of the heart in sharp contrast with everything of a dogmatic, statutory, and normative character, is perhaps the classical expression of Liberal Protestantism.[2] This book (like the admirable work of his namesake, Paul Sabatier, on St. Francis) exercised an extraordinarily strong influence on those finely touched spirits, the leading representatives of Catholic Modernism: Blondel, Laberthonnière, Leroy, Fogazzaro, and Tyrrell, all came under its influence.[3] In present-day German theology Schleiermacher's religious ideas have been placed on a new and deeper foundation by Rudolf Otto.[4] His, in its own way, consummate essay on the 'Idea of the Holy,' places Schleiermacher's theory against an imposing background of Comparative Religion, giving it its place in a long line of development. The transcendence of the Divine revelation is here, however, wholly absorbed into the immanence of 'the religious a priori.'[5] This psychologically conditioned religious philosophy of subjective experience encountered sharp opposition from two different quarters. It is fifteen years or more since

Pius x., in his Encyclical *Pascendi*, loudly proclaimed the danger which threatened Christian faith from the side of this agnostic theory of 'vital immanence.' Though we may consider his warnings exaggerated and lacking in the spirit of love, and may regret that they were associated with an unjustifiable condemnation of the impartial study of history, it was not without good grounds that he confronted this modern apotheosis of the religion of immanence with the spectre of the illusionism and atheism in which it culminated in Feuerbach.[6]

Not less vehement than this Papal anathema was the fierce polemic with which, a few years since, the so-called 'dialectic' theologians (Karl Barth, Friedrich Gogarten, Emil Brunner) assailed the 'experiential theology' of Liberalism.[7] This 'dialectic' theology is no doubt extremely one-sided. It is the old story of Scylla and Charybdis; in avoiding the whirlpool of subjective experience it skirts the rock of a soulless objectivity and intellectualism, and runs the risk, unless it can regain the *via media*, of making ship-

wreck there. But in spite of its excessive shrillness and its often repellent rudeness, its uncompromising repudiation of all merely human experience and its passionate aspiration after God as transcendent Reality and self-revealing eternal Truth have in them something stimulating and liberating, and its protest ought not to pass unregarded.

In this theology there reveals itself—even though in a distorted form—the hunger of our time for the objective, the real, the ultimate, a hunger which only God and His Word can satisfy. Connected with this passionate aversion from all subjectivity, and orientation towards the objectivity of divinely revealed truth, is a turning from the individualism characteristic of the inward-experience pietists, and a turning towards the whole body of the faithful, towards the Church. On all sides men are awakening to the recognition that the Church of Christ is something more than an outward institution for the preservation and nurture of the religious and ethical life, more than the mere sum of the individual Christians; rather, the Christian Church is a

unity, a metaphysico-mystical entity, Christ's 'Body' and the 'Fulfilment'[8] of Christ. And this doctrine of the Church as a creation and revelation of Christ, as an integral organism drawing its life from Christ, inevitably creates a strong tendency towards the uniting together in a fraternal relationship of Christian men who are separated by external barriers. All over Christendom attempts are being made to restore that unity of Christendom which has been broken by the historical divisions of the various Confessions. Various as are the ways which the different groups are following—whether they seek, under the watchword 'Faith and Order,' a union in the doctrines of the Faith, or whether under the rallying cry 'Life and Work' they endeavour to work earnestly together in Christian love, or whether, convinced of the truth of the dogmatic axiom *Porro subesse Romano pontifici . . . omnino esse de necessitate salutis*, they pray for the return of the erring sheep to the *unus pastor et unum ovile*—the most intense desire for unity, the longing for 'one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,' to-day fills all the

Christian Confessions, from the most powerful ecclesiastical institution in Christendom, that of Rome, down to the numerically weak so-called 'sectaries.' [9]

This desire for the fellowship of the faith and a united Church finds expression, further, in the endeavour to awaken, to deepen, and to enrich the life of worship. Throughout the whole of Christendom there is to-day *a liturgical movement*. In the Roman Church this movement [10] took its rise in the Benedictine monastery of Solesmes. It is the great merit of its gifted Abbot, Dom Guéranger, to have awakened the liturgical sense in the Roman Church to new life. The liturgical idea revived by him was carried further by the Benedictines of the Beuron Community. The monasteries of Beuron and Maria Laach are to-day the centres of the liturgical movement in Roman Catholicism, its spiritual leader is the Abbot of Maria Laach, Ildefons Herwegen, a characteristically Benedictine personality, one of the finest types of present-day Catholicism.[11] The aim followed by these disciples of St. Benedict, true to the spirit of their Founder,

is twofold; on the one hand they seek, by historical research, to bring to light the liturgical treasures of the Early Church[11a]; on the other they seek to purify and renew the living spirit of public worship by a return to the Early Church's liturgical ideals.) The collection of books published by Abbot Herwegen under the title *Ecclesia Orans*,[12] has been circulated by the thousand, and has carried the idea far and wide throughout Catholic circles. Romano Guardini's introductory essay 'Vom Geist der Liturgie' (The Spirit of the Liturgy) —a veritable work of art—has awakened echoes beyond the bounds of the Roman Church. Even the Jesuits, the individualistic tradition of whose Order has no liturgical leanings, have, with their characteristic capacity for adapting themselves to the spirit of the time, taken up the liturgical idea.[13] This liturgical movement is closely connected with the 'Catholic Youth' movement; the liturgical life is the secret of its strength and stability, a defence against the whirlpool of subjectivity into which non-Catholic youth is not seldom swept away. The Association of Catholic

youths known by the name of 'Quickborn' has to-day in its *missae recitatae* made the Roman ritual a truly congregational act of worship.[14]

In the Anglican Church the liturgical movement arose still earlier than in the Roman. The Oxford Movement signified a *rapprochement* not merely in the domain of doctrine and Church order, but also in that of the cultus, with the Roman Church—or, it would be better to say, with the Pre-Reformation Western Church. To-day it is the strong Anglo-Catholic party which is endeavouring to call into new life the whole liturgical wealth of the Early and Medieval Church. Not a few Anglican clergymen combine, in the celebration of the Eucharist, the Roman Missal with the Book of Common Prayer. In quite recent times the Anglo-Catholics have succeeded, in spite of the strong opposition of the Evangelical party, in reintroducing into the Church of England the adoration of the reserved Eucharist which has been practised in the Western Church since the thirteenth century. The warmth of the devo-

tion which Anglo-Catholics cherish for the Eucharist is equally apparent in their practice of frequent, or even daily Communion. The official reintroduction of the Festival of Corpus Christi is an eloquent symbol of the return of the Anglican Church to Pre-Reformation cultual traditions.[15]

Moreover, it is not only in the Western, but also in that Eastern Church which is so often characterised as a Church with a petrified cultus, that a stirring of new liturgical life is apparent. There is, of course, no Christian Church which can boast of so abundant and precious liturgical treasures as the Eastern. In no Church is the cultual instinct of the believers so strong as it is there. But the new thing that is stirring in the Eastern Church is that the laity are pressing for an active part in the liturgy. The congregation desires to be no longer a silent spectator of the sacred mystery-drama, but to share in celebrating the great mysteries. Accordingly, in some parts of Russia and Bulgaria to-day the congregation takes the place of the choir, in order, by making the responses

to the prayers of the priest, to make good its status as an active member of the *ecclesia orans*.

And it is not only in Churches with a Catholic tradition (among which the Anglican must be reckoned), but also in purely Protestant Churches that a liturgical movement has sprung up. It is more than half a century now since Wilhelm Löhe endeavoured to awaken in the German Lutheran Church an appreciation of the liturgical treasures which the Christian Church possesses [16]—though without any notable result. Löhe's ideas were, however, revived by the 'High-Church Union,' [17] which was founded after the end of the war. It aims not only at an enrichment of the liturgical life, but also at the subordination of the sermon to the celebration of the Sacrament. In connection with conferences of this High-Church Union, a kind of evangelical 'High Mass' has been celebrated in several churches in Berlin, Magdeburg, and elsewhere, *i.e.* an ornate eucharistic service, in which, moreover, Roman vestments were used.

It is true that the overwhelming majority of German Protestants are averse from, indeed strongly opposed to, all efforts to introduce High-Church practices. Nevertheless, even apart from the small High-Church group, there are grounds for speaking of a liturgical movement within German Protestantism. The *Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst* (Monthly Magazine for Public Worship and Church Art), founded by the Strasburg professors Spitta and Smend, aims, more especially by the cultivation of Church music, at an enrichment and embellishment of the Church service, though the movement is not associated with any reforms of a Catholicizing tendency, and is indeed strongly opposed to the sacramental ideas of the High-Church Union. Moreover, one of the most important of the liberal theologians of Germany, Rudolf Otto, is dedicating his efforts to the cause of liturgical reform. He has published in the *Christliche Welt* a series of remarkable proposals, the most important of which are concerned with responses (*Wechselgebet*, lit. alternate prayer), the litany and the 'sacred

silence.'[18] The author of *Das Heilige* celebrates in eloquent words the 'Sacrament of Silence' as being the climax, the moment most instinct with the divine (*numinosum*), of public worship. This last proposal, however, has, it must be admitted, thrown many arch-Protestants into strong excitement; Martin Schian, for example, has characterized the 'Silent Service' as thoroughly unevangelical,[19] and Karl Barth remarks ironically upon the peculiar appropriateness of introducing a 'Sacrament of Silence' into the 'Church of the Word.'[20]

Still more remarkable than these various liturgical tentatives in German Lutheranism is the appearance of a liturgical interest within the Reformed Church. In Calvinistic Holland, and in Calvinistic Western Switzerland, liturgical services are now held at which there is no preaching. In German Switzerland, indeed, we even find the vigorous beginnings of a High-Church movement in the 'Schweitzer Diakonieverein.'[21]

Thus there is arising, even in Protestant circles which for centuries have been frankly

opposed to liturgies, a strong feeling of the need for liturgical forms. The liturgical movement is to-day a general Christian movement which cuts across all Confessional divisions. Christianity is weary of individualism, which weakens and divides; it is striving to escape from the narrow bondage of the subjective into the wide freedom of the objective, the universal; from the limitations of the isolated individual to the fullness and strength of the great Community.

A couple of decades ago theological scholarship was accustomed to set a gulf between the 'creative personalities' and the community out of which they arose, and to see in the Prophetic spirits of the Jewish and Christian religions, individualists and enemies of the cultus; to-day there is a steadily growing recognition of the significance which the community and its common worship have had even for the most outstanding 'Men of God' in Israel and in Christianity. Had not Isaiah been thoroughly familiar with the Temple worship in Jerusalem, had he not been penetrated with the sense of the true presence

of Jahwe in the Temple, he would never have had the tremendous Temple vision of Jahwe described in Isaiah vi. Even those of the Old Testament prophets who raised their voices against the externality of the Temple cultus, against a religious life which began and ended in formal worship divorced from inward piety and brotherly love—even they made use of the liturgical wealth of the People of God, and drew strength from Jahwe's presence on Mount Zion. The Divine Redeemer Himself clung with intense affection to the public worship of God in the Temple and in the Synagogue. He, who could spend the whole night upon a lonely mountain in direct converse with His Heavenly Father, came to the Sabbath service in the Synagogue; He, who at all times and places walked in the presence of His Father, yet held the Temple at Jerusalem to be His Father's House, in which it behoved Him to dwell; and He was zealous that it should be treated as the House of God and the Place of Prayer.

And how great was the debt of St. Paul and the Fourth Evangelist to the life of worship

in the young Christian Church! It is the high merit of the most recent New Testament Scholarship (Deissmann,[22] Bousset,[23] Wetter,[24] Bultmann [25]) to have shown clearly the connection between the Christ-faith and the Christ-cult.

The Christ-mysticism and Spirit-mysticism of the Apostle of the Gentiles is inseparably bound up with the Christian community's life of worship, with the supplications addressed to the exalted Lord, with the charismatic 'gifts of the Spirit,' with the mysteries of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

And the Fourth Evangelist, too, received his deepest impulses from the Eucharistic service of the Christian community. The discourses of the Johannine Jesus upon the Bread of Life and the Vine and its Branches can only be understood in connection with the warmth and fullness of the sacrament-mysticism of primitive Christianity.

And what would the heroic martyrs of early Christianity have done without the prayers and sacraments of the Church, without the secret services in the subterranean cham-

bers of the Catacombs and in their gloomy prison cells?

And what would the Fathers of the Eastern and Western Church have done without the liturgy of the Church? Whether we read the writings of a St. Chrysostom or a St. Augustine, we are ever and again reminded that the thought and life of these men, so truly learned in the things of God, were nourished not less by the services and sacraments of the Church than by the word of God in the Scriptures.

And how would the early monks of the Nitrian and Syrian deserts have preserved their humility and holy life without that connection with the services of the Church which was maintained for them by the priests of the cloister and the cell. How, again, would the great saints of the Middle Ages and the Post-Reformation Church have attained to 'perfection,' if they had not drawn from the springs of sacramental life? It was in the contemplation of the Eucharist that the purest flame of Christian love sprang up in St. Francis of Assisi, and that there ripened in the mind of St. Thomas Aquinas the deepest

homiletic treasury, and the Lutheran Wilhelm Löhe, whose *Drei Bücher von der Kirche* (Three Books on the Church) is a hymn of praise to the Church which has few rivals in Christian literature. Thus public worship has been the native home of Christian faith and life—to put it better, Christian life has, like an ellipse, two focal points: one is the quiet chamber of private prayer, the secret communion of the soul with God; the other is the great fellowship of the Church in prayer, the solemn and ceremonial communion with God of the assembled community.

CHAPTER II

UNITED WORSHIP IN THE EARLY CHURCH

CHRISTIAN worship [25b] is in fact an inexhaustible source of life and power. Outwardly it assumes a multiplicity of forms. Many and various as are the separate Churches which exist in Christendom, so many and various are their liturgies. But all of them may be likened to the branches of one mighty tree, branches larger and smaller. And this tree has its roots in the soil of the Church of the earliest times.

The ultimate basis of all Christian liturgies is in fact the public worship of the primitive Christian community. Moreover, this primitive Christian form of worship [26] surpasses all others in power and depth. We can scarcely form any adequate conception of the overflowing life and vigour of the public worship of the first three centuries. But we can

divine something of its secret when we listen to the doxologies of the Pauline Epistles and the anthems of the New Testament Apocalypse, in which we have a clear echo of the earliest Christian worship; and we can trace something of its spirit when we collect the fragments of early Christian liturgies in the Acts of the Martyrs and the writings of the Fathers.

Two sayings of the Apostle of the Gentiles open to us the door of the sanctuary of early Christian worship: σῶμα Χριστοῦ (the Body of Christ), and πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ (the Spirit of Christ). The assembled community knows itself to be a unity; 'we, the many, are but one body' (1 Cor. x. 17), but a unity which goes much beyond the company of assembled individuals. Rudolf Sohm has shown in meritorious fashion that for the Christian consciousness of the early days of Christianity the local Christian Church was only a representative of the great invisible Church of Christ.[26b] The ἐπίγειος ἐκκλησία (earthly Church) is only an antitype of the οὐράνιος ἐκκλησία (heavenly Church), as Clement of Alexandria

expresses it.[27] The local community, when in public worship it prays and sings praises, knows itself to be one with the choir of angels who surround the throne of God and without ceasing chant the 'Trishagion,' one with the brethren who have been made perfect, whom the author of the Apocalypse beheld standing before the throne of the Lamb clothed with white robes, offering praise and intercession. The 'Church militant' forms together with the 'Church triumphant' one great Community of Prayer; nay, this Church of Christ extends throughout the whole universe. 'And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever' (Rev. v. 13); this mighty choir glorifies the eternal Father through Jesus Christ 'with *one* mind and with *one* mouth' (Rom. xv. 6).

This community, which embraces the heavens and the earth, is so essentially one that the individual souls are lost to sight in it, and

it faces Christ the Lord as a unified personality. The Church is 'the Bride of Christ,' the 'Virgin Mother' of believers, she is the *Orans*, the dignified Matron with outstretched arms whose presentment meets us so often on the walls of the Catacombs. The hymn on married love in the Epistle to the Ephesians has for its deeper meaning the Mystical Union between Christ and His Church. 'This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the Church' (Eph. v. 32).

The organic union of all the redeemed with one another and with Christ is pictured by the Apostle under the image of the 'Body of Christ'—Christ the Head; the Church the Body; the individual Christians members of this Body, inseparably connected with one another and with the exalted Lord. The Fourth Evangelist describes this union under the peculiarly perfect image of the Vine and the Branches (Joh. xv.). We are accustomed nowadays to take all these images in too abstract and theoretic a sense. Once we look at them no longer in isolation but against the background of early Christian worship, they

acquire new life, and reveal to us something of the glory of the Christ-mysticism which was associated with that worship.

Christ and Church are bound together in indissoluble union: Ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ('Where Christ is, there is the Church Universal').[28] And Christ is wherever the smallest gathering prays in His name. 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them' (Mt. xviii. 20). Early Christianity was inspired with the steadfast faith that Christ is truly present in the worshipping Church. As an unseen, mysterious fellow-guest He is present with the faithful when they, calling upon His name, lift up these hands to the Father, and when they, in remembrance of Him, celebrate the Eucharistic Feast. In all the Gospel narratives which tell how the Risen Christ appeared in wondrous fashion to His disciples as they ate and drank together, there is reflected the Early Church's belief in Christ's real presence with His people when they keep the Feast. It is at 'the breaking of bread' that the eyes of the disciples on the way to

Emmaus are opened and they see their Risen Master (Lk. xxiv. 30 f.). It was while the disciples were holding their service of prayer and praise behind closed doors that Jesus stood, clearly seen, in the midst of them, and greeted them with the benediction, 'Peace be unto you!' (Joh. xx. 19, 26). For us modern Christians it is difficult to grasp this primitive Christian belief in the 'present Christ' in its tremendous realism. Nevertheless this belief in Christ's 'real presence' is not to be summarily identified with the doctrine of Transubstantiation on which the sacramental piety of the Middle Ages is based. The presence of Christ is not here exclusively connected with the sacramental elements of bread and wine; it is the whole community assembled for the Eucharist which is the vehicle of the presence of Christ. 'As living stones' the worshipping believers are built together 'into a spiritual house' (1 Pet. ii. 5), in which Christ dwells, nay, which is itself the Body of Christ. But just as later Christianity had sacred formulae with which it connected Christ's presence in the elements, so, too, the primitive

Church had a petition in which it besought the coming of the Lord to the community of believers: *Maranatha*, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come and hold communion with us' (ἐλθὲ καὶ κοινώνησον ἡμῖν).[28b] The eschatological prayer of primitive Christianity was also its prayer for Communion, its 'Epiklesis' (Invocation).

And the Lord came again and again to the expectant assembly, which in Him and through Him offered its adoration to the Eternal Father. And especially was He near to it in that moment when the bread was broken and the cup given. This simple action formed the climax of the primitive Christian service. The Community, while taking part in the Feast, was exalted above Time and Space; it dwelled in the heavenly Jerusalem, and partook, in the Divine presence, of the eternal Feast which Jesus had promised in His parables, and which He had symbolically prefigured in the miracle of the loaves in the wilderness and at the Last Supper in Jerusalem. And since in the Lord's Supper the blessedness of Heaven came down to earth, this meal bore,

according to the earliest evidence, in the Acts of the Apostles (ii. 47), an entirely joyous character. The guests of this table tasted here the ineffable blessedness of the eternal Kingdom of God; 'eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man . . .' (1 Cor. ii. 9)—but to the Christians assembled for the Eucharist it was vouchsafed in this temporal life to taste a heavenly joy. The cry of jubilation which the author of the Apocalypse heard from the lips of the heavenly Church, 'Let us be glad and rejoice and give honour to him; for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready' (Rev. xix. 7), was heard even in this present from the lips of the earthly Church.

Moreover, the Lord's Supper was for the Early Christians a foretaste of the heavenly feast of joy. The Lord Himself indeed had indicated, at that farewell meal on the eve of the Passion, the connection between the earthly and the heavenly Supper. 'Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God'

(Mk. xiv. 25). For the Gentile-Christian Church, surrounded as it was by the Hellenistic mystery-religions, the Lord's Supper was even more than a foretaste of the heavenly Feast. For it the breaking of bread was not merely the partaking of a common meal in the presence of the Heavenly Guest, but rather a *κοινωνία*, *communio*, a mystical union with the exalted Lord. Like the pagan cultus-associations which ate at the table of their divinities, and thus became most intimately united with them, the Christians at the Eucharistic Feast were most closely united with their Saviour—they became one body and one blood with Him. 'The cup which we drink, is it not communion with the blood of our Lord, and the bread which we break, is it not communion with the body of Christ?' (1 Cor. x. 16).

This mystical communion with Christ signifies at the same time communion with the whole body of believers. The Lord's Supper became for the Early Christians the great feast of brotherly love; at the Lord's Table the conviction was ever anew impressed upon

them that they formed one single organic whole. 'Since it is *one* bread, therefore we being many are one body, for we are all partakers of the *one* bread' (1 Cor. x. 17). In the moment of their eating and drinking together, there revealed herself to them in all her radiant splendour the *una sancta*, the *one* Church of Christ, which He had purchased with His blood. 'As this bread was scattered abroad on the mountains and is gathered into one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom'—this passage from the earliest eucharistic prayer, from the *Didache* (ix.), is an eloquent testimony that even for the Church of the earliest times the Eucharist had that character which the greatest Church teacher of the Middle Ages ascribed to it when he spoke of it as the *Sacramentum ecclesiasticae unitatis*.[29]

This unity of the Church is, moreover, that unity of love which the Johannine Jesus proclaimed. Ἀγάπη is in the earliest times not merely a designation for the love-feast which was associated with the eucharistic service,

but for the Church itself in its capacity as a great Fellowship of Love. At the celebration of the Eucharist the company of believers is filled with that pure and holy love whose praises are so constantly sounded in the Apostolic letters. This brotherly love found a remarkable symbolic expression in the *pax*, the kiss of Peace, which the assembled brethren exchanged with one another, and the women likewise among themselves (Rom. xvi. 16 ; 1 Cor. xvi. 20). This sacred act was, moreover, preceded by the earnest exhortation of the Deacon μή τις κατά τινος[30]—the Christian must bury all hatred and enmity before he could in all sincerity give his brother the kiss of peace and approach the Table of the Lord.

But there was in the Early Church still another way in which this all-embracing brotherly love found expression, namely, in the great Prayer of Intercession. The high significance which attached to this prayer can be realized from the way in which its echoes sound through the whole of early Christian literature.[31] The Community offered up fer-

vent prayers for all Christian brethren, for all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, for all the sick and poor, for all widows and orphans, for those in sorrow and trial, for all who languished in prison or toiled in the mines for the sake of their faith, for all travellers by land and sea, for all doubters and apostates, for all penitents and catechumens. Nay more, this love went out beyond the boundaries of the Christian community; their heathen fellow-countrymen and their rulers were included, as were also the enemies and persecutors of the Christian Church. The Lord's saying, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, that ye have love one to another' (Joh. xiii. 35), was literally fulfilled at the eucharistic feast. And when those who were outside the Church said, 'See how these Christians love one another!' they were giving a faithful representation of the spirit of Early Christian worship.

But the Early Christian worship was more than a fellowship-feast of love and joy. With these glad notes were mingled others more grave and austere:

'Vexilla regis prodeunt
fulget crucis mysterium.'

('The Royal Standards take the field,
Forth shines the Cross's Mystery.')[32]

The Cross of Christ on Calvary, which was to the Jews an offence and to the Gentiles foolishness, shines out before the eyes of the faithful. 'As often as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come' (1 Cor. xi. 26). This 'showing' is not merely a praising and glorifying in words but a dramatic setting forth and rendering present of the sacrifice of Calvary; yea more, it is a partaking in that suffering and that crucifixion. The Pauline passion-mysticism is not confined to the individual experience of the Christian, but has its place also in the cultus. Ignatius of Antioch gives unambiguous testimony to the cultual passion-mysticism of Early Christianity. He sees, set up in the Eucharist, a *θυσιαστήριον*, an altar of sacrifice; there takes place for him a *συμπάσχειν*, a real sharing of the suffering and dying of Christ. It was from this cross-and-passion mysticism

associated with the Eucharist that Christians drew the strength to endure cruel martyrdoms. To die the martyr death is nothing less than 'to drink the cup of the Lord,' to become 'the pure bread of Christ.'[33] Even as the eucharistic celebration is an inward and mystical dying with Christ, so, conversely, a real dying for Christ is the celebration of a eucharistic sacrifice.

But the Eucharist is not only the celebration of Christ's death, but also of His Resurrection, not only a dying with Him, but also a rising-again with Him. In the Eucharist the *futurum resurrectionis* becomes a present benefit of salvation. This connection of Eucharist and Resurrection is clearly set forth in the Fourth Gospel in the great discourse about the Bread of Life. 'Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day' (Joh. vi. 54). 'Unto us hast Thou given spiritual food and spiritual drink and eternal life through Thy Son' are the words of the Communion prayer in the *Didache* (x. 3); and Ignatius calls the Eucharist 'the medicine of

immortality,' the 'pledge of eternal life.'[34] Irenaeus declares 'Our bodies, which partake of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, for they have the hope of the resurrection to eternal life . . . in due season they shall arise.'[35] It is this aspect of the Early Christian sacramental conception which the modern Christian feels it most difficult to understand. And yet these conceptions go back to the earliest times. And they are not to be dismissed with a superficial phrase about 'Sacramental magic.' They have their roots in the bodily resurrection of the Lord; the Christ who is present in transfigured bodily presence bestows upon those who unite themselves to Him in faith, the transfiguration of their mortal body.

Σῶμα Χριστοῦ—these were the words spoken by the Bishop or Presbyter as he handed the eucharistic bread to the faithful. We can see what fullness of truth and love these simple words contained for the Early Christians. But even so the character of the primitive Christian celebration is as yet only half expressed. A treasure no less great is con-

tained in the second formula, πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty' (2 Cor. iii. 17). The worship of the primitive Church was not bound down to strict Agenda, but left free room for the mysterious working of the Spirit of God in individual Christians. In the first three centuries the Spirit of Pentecost lived on and manifested itself in Pentecostal gifts. Though it was the Bishop who presided at the Lord's Supper, and though no doubt to him was also reserved the great Eucharistic Prayer, that is, the prayer of thanksgiving for the Divine redemptive acts, yet every Christian had the right to proclaim the word freely, to pray and to sing psalms when the Spirit moved him. 'Let the Prophets (*i.e.* those who possessed charismatic gifts) give thanks and praise as much as they will,' directs the *Didache* (x. 6). St. Paul, in his exhortations regarding the meetings for worship (1 Cor. xiv.), has given a vivid picture of the pneumatic enthusiasm which manifested itself in the public worship of the Corinthian Church. 'When ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath

a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath an interpretation' (1 Cor. xiv. 26). So fervid in its manifestations was the Spirit of Pentecost that St. Paul had to exhort to order and measure: 'Let all things be done decently and in order.' But although St. Paul checks the excesses, he has no thought of confining the free working of the Spirit by the fetters of a fixed order: 'Quench not the Spirit' (1 Thess. v. 19).

The manifestations which we see here in Corinth in the first century continued in varying degrees of vigour in the Church of the Persecutions. And it was not only the prophets, the charismatics, who were seized by the Spirit, who so spake, the Priests and the Bishops also spoke and prayed in the Spirit 'freely from the heart,' as Tertullian says (*de pectore*),[36] each one according to his ability. Where liturgical formulas were drawn up, these were intended to serve those who held office in the Church as pattern prayers, as instructional prayers, or as guiding-lines for public worship. A precisely formulated prayer read out of a formulary would have been an incomprehensible idea to the Chris-

tians of the first three centuries—if, indeed, it did not appear to them a 'sin against the Spirit.' The Apostle's words, 'We know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered' (Rom. viii. 26), had their application to the public as well as to the private prayers of the Early Christian.

But what kind of a spirit was it that found vent in the spontaneous prayer of adoration, or in the speaking with tongues? It was the spirit of joy, of certitude, of thankfulness. An incomparable gladness filled the hearts of the Christians; in the striking phrase of the Epistle of Barnabas, they were 'children of joy,' τέκνα εὐφροσύνης (Barn. vii. 1). Had they not in their hearts the experience of salvation and redemption through Christ? In their Saviour they possessed the fullness of the Divine truth and love, they lived already in a New Age, here upon earth they possessed Heaven, they 'reigned with Christ,' and such remnants of power as were still held by the Lord of this world, were, after no long time,

to be destroyed, when Christ should come to judgment. This overmastering joy and enthusiasm poured itself out in unbridled strength in free ejaculations of praise and in incomprehensible speaking-with-tongues, it created for itself fixed and yet flexible forms in its poetic hymns, of whose rich treasures only a few scanty fragments have been preserved in the liturgies.[36b]

This enthusiasm received its purest and most perfect embodiment in the solemn thanksgiving, the εὐχαριστία which preceded the Sacred Feast. This prayer of praise and thanksgiving, which historically goes back to Jewish prototypes, came, as the 'principal prayer,' to take so central a place in Early Christian public worship that the service of celebration came to be called from it 'the Eucharist,' a name which many Christian Churches have retained down to the present day. An impressive dialogue[37] between Bishop and congregation forms the introduction to this prayer. First, the officiant addresses to the people the apostolic salutation, 'The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the

Love of God and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all!' and the people answer, 'And with thy spirit!' Then the Bishop points them to the heavenly world, saying, 'Lift up your hearts!'—a saying which became the watchword of the Early Christians. And the people responds to the summons with the words, 'We have lifted them up unto the Lord.' And now the Bishop exhorts them, 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God!' And the people gives assent to the exhortation with the cry, 'It is meet and right.' Then the Bishop praises God as the Creator of all things visible and invisible; the creation passes in an epic procession before the eyes of the worshippers; and there follows the story of the great salvation which God has wrought amid signs and wonders for His people Israel. And like a many-voiced echo of this praise and thanksgiving there sounds forth from the mouths of the congregation the Song of the Cherubim, the 'Holy, Holy, Holy' which Isaiah heard in his Vision. But a still more marvellous saving work has God wrought for sinful mankind, in that He has sent His Son,

that whosoever believeth on Him might have eternal life. So now the people see unrolled before them the whole drama of redemption, from the birth of the Saviour of the World up to His Ascension and His Second Coming.

Thus the theme of this great eucharistic prayer is the Mystery of God's creative power and love, and its note of jubilation rings through the whole of Early Christian literature.[38] The Early Christian Church, like the Jewish community before it, looked upon this praise and thanksgiving and adoration as an offering of sacrifice to the Most High.[39]

Σῶμα Χριστοῦ and πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ—in these correlated conceptions lies the heart of the mystery of Early Christian worship. Those sharp antitheses which in the later history of Christian worship often led to bitter conflicts, are here resolved—the Divine Spirit and the human act, nature and the supernatural, personal religion and supra-personal institution, the individual and the fellowship of believers, authority and freedom, charismatic enthusiasm and churchly order, the outward

and the spiritual, word and sacrament, cultus and ethical life—all these apparently irreconcilable opposites, whose antagonism has often in the history of Christianity had such disastrous issues, are here combined into a harmony. Never again in the history of the Christian Church, or of religion in general, has the life of worship revealed such power, such depth and fruitfulness as in the earliest Christian times. We lament to-day that we possess so little documentary evidence of this incomparably rich and abundant life; but this very lack is itself a sign of its spontaneity and fullness; the life had not been confined by the rigidity of outward forms nor subtilized by intellectual reflection; and another reason why the literary records of the earliest Christian worship are so scanty, is that the intercourse with the Most Holy was hidden behind a veil of mystery. Of this life, at once so manifold and so unified, the final word is spoken in that saying of the Apostle, 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations,

but it is the same God which worketh all in all' (1 Cor. xii. 4 f.). In this life of worship was fulfilled already that vision of the future which was beheld by the author of the Apocalypse. 'I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband' (Rev. xxi. 2).

To this Early Christian worship all later forms of Divine service stretch back their roots. They have arisen out of it partly by elaboration and formalization, partly by a reversion to and revival of the primitive type. Great as may be the differences between the later forms and the primitive form, they do not stand for anything essentially new, they only further develop certain elements which are clearly recognizable in Early Christianity, while often doing less than justice to other Early Christian elements. All later forms of worship, in fact, represent in essence nothing more than a one-sided stressing of particular elements in the Primitive Christian Worship.

The 'Orthodox' or Eastern Church has placed in the foreground the idea of the

Mystery-drama, of adoration and glorification; the Roman Church has emphasized the idea of the objective *actio*, the real renewal of Christ's atoning act; Lutheranism, the proclamation of the Gospel, the glad tidings of God's love in the forgiveness of sins; Calvinism, a completely spiritual cultus, purified from all ritualism, exalting the glory of God; the various Protestant sects, partly the idea of loving fellowship in worship, partly the charismatic enthusiasm.

CHAPTER III

THE LITURGIES OF THE EASTERN CHURCH

Among all these forms of worship that which comes nearest, both in the external structure of the service and in the content and form of the liturgical prayers, to the worship of the primitive Christian Church, is the service of the Eastern Church.[40] In the successive *Missa catechumenorum* and *Missa fidelium* the division observed in the Early Christian service is maintained. The Prayer of Thanksgiving, with its allusions to the history of redemption, is, for the most part, the General Intercession entirely, retained. Many formulas are preserved intact, *e.g.* the very early invitation to partake of the Communion uttered by the Bishop τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις ('the holy things for the holy'), as also the response by the people: εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός ('One is holy, One is

Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father').[41] And, as in early times, the liturgies are recited in the native tongue of the worshippers (Syrian, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, Greek, Slavonic, Roumanian). Even though in some cases the ancient language of the liturgies differs here and there from the speech of to-day, they are nevertheless intelligible to the people. And in its sacramental conceptions, too, the Eastern Church stands very near to the Early Church; the belief in the mediation of immortality and resurrection through the Eucharist strongly recalls the Early Christian ideas.

In spite of these characteristics, in which the Eastern liturgies are much closer than the Roman to the primitive forms, there are also important differences. The service of the Eastern Church is a great Mystery-drama which the priests perform before the people. The idea of the divine mystery is the ruling idea, 'We have received a share in the divine, holy, immaculate, immortal, heavenly, life-giving, awful mysteries of Christ'—in this prayer from the liturgy of St. Chrysostom[42]

the feeling of the Eastern liturgy is excellently expressed. A cloud of mystery surrounds the whole service. All the liturgical acts are similarly impregnated with the impenetrable mystery of the Divine; they are, so to speak, coloured transparencies of the Divine majesty and glory. The extremely elaborate pomp of the ceremony, the dazzling gold and silver of the priestly vestments and the holy vessels, the radiance of the multitudes of candles—all seems the earthly reflection of a wondrous world of splendour and light, beyond the compass of our earthly senses. The magical beauty of the choral singing—there is perhaps no more wonderful church music than the Russian—falls on the ear like a message from the heavenly world, like an echo from the harmonies of the Angelic Choir.

The people gaze with the deepest attention upon all this shining splendour, and listen to the celestial sounds; but it only listens and gazes. It remains passive. The enthusiastic energies of the primitive Christian charismatics have, in this passive congregation of laymen, wholly disappeared. Even those

cultus acts which formerly were performed by the people themselves in the course of the eucharistic service—the coming to the altar to present their offerings, and the exchange of the kiss of peace—have now disappeared or become a sacerdotal ceremonial. It is the priests who perform the sacred drama ; they are the mystagogues who in the sacred rites mediate the heavenly power to the souls of the faithful; they, as it were, catch the heavenly spark and kindle with it the hearts of the worshippers. The people are purely receptive; they are separated by a gulf from the priests, the bestowers of the Divine gifts of grace ; the *Ikonostasis*, the richly adorned screen, with its sacred pictures and its three doors of ingress, which marks off the space round the altar, like a stage, from the nave where the people are, stands like an impassable barrier between them and the officiating priests.[43]

Thus in the Eastern Church the place of the living service of worship has been taken by a priestly Mystery-drama. That in itself throws a stronger stress on the sensuous and material element. Christ's coming to the assembled

people is no longer, as in the early days, spiritually conceived, but is visibly pictured by ritual acts. The entry of the priest bearing the book of the Gospels (the 'Little Entrance'—μικρὰ εἴσοδος) is, like the entry with oblations (the 'Great Entrance'—μεγάλη εἴσοδος), a mystical representation of the coming of Christ, who, 'attended by the holy angels,' draws nigh to His believing people.

But a still more tangible pledge of Christ's grace-imparting presence is received by the people in the elements, the bread and wine, which by the prayer of the priest are transformed into the Body and Blood of the Lord. In humble words the priest beseeches God to send His Holy Spirit—that Spirit which of old 'overshadowed' the Virgin Mary, which at the Jordan descended upon Jesus, and at Pentecost fell upon the Apostles—to send His Spirit upon the offered gifts and make them into the Body and Blood of Christ. (In some of the liturgies it is the Logos whose descent upon the elements is besought.) Through this prayer of the priest, the so-called *Epiklesis* (Invocation), takes place the great miracle of

the transformation, or, to express it more accurately, the consecration and new-creation of the elements. As soon as this prayer is ended, there lies upon the holy table no longer common bread and common wine, but the Flesh and Blood of the Divine Logos—the Mystery of the Incarnation, the descent into space and time, has once again been accomplished. And in astonishment and awe the priests can say with Symeon, the eleventh-century Greek mystic who is known as 'the New Theologian,' 'It is vouchsafed to us to touch that God who dwells in light unapproachable, unapproachable not only for this transitory and mortal nature, but even for all the spiritual angelic hosts.'[41] Nay, a quaking and trembling comes upon him who serves the mysteries as upon those Old Testament saints to whom was granted a theophany. 'Woe is me,' says the celebrant in the East Syrian Anaphora, 'Woe is me, for I have brought guilt upon me, for I am a man of unclean lips, and among a people of unclean lips do I dwell, for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts! How dreadful is

this place; this is none other than the House of God and the Gate of Heaven.' [45]

Along with the priests, the people stand, at once shuddering and rejoicing, before the mystery of the Incarnation, and adore—Holy is God, holy all-powerful, holy immortal (ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος). These words of awe and mystery are reiterated by the choir in a low-toned chant in the ears of the people. And then the priest prays in a subdued voice, 'O Thou Holy God, who dwellest in Heaven, Thou Who, with thrice holy voice, art praised by the Seraphim, glorified by the Cherubim, and adored by all the heavenly host.' [46] Priest and people find their highest bliss in uniting with the angelic hosts, conceived as present, and, with them, offering to the eternal God 'the adoration and praise which is His due.' [47] Again and again the assembled people are reminded of the heavenly Cherubim and Seraphim which keep watch before the Throne of God, and they seek to imitate their example. Incomparably impressive is the hymn of praise of the Cherubim in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, which begins

the adoration in the faintest pianissimo and ends in a jubilant fortissimo. 'Let us who in mystic wise present the semblance of the Cherubim, and hymn the life-giving Trinity in the "Holy, Holy, Holy," lay aside all earthly cares, that we may receive the Lord of All, who comes invisibly escorted by the angelic hosts. Hallelujah!'[48] And the hymn of praise rises, and takes a wider sweep, and loses itself in the unmeasured aeons of eternity: *δόξα πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.* ('Glory unto the Father and unto the Son,' etc.). In this hymn of praise, in which the worshipper's self falls out of sight, petition takes a wholly subordinate place: *σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν, σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν, σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, σοῦ δεόμεθα, ὦ θεὸς ἡμῶν* ('We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we give Thee thanks, we make our petition to Thee, Our God'[49])—this descending scale shows clearly that in the liturgical prayer petition takes the lowest place.

And it is not only in the words of the liturgical prayers, but also in the worshipping

believers that the reverent adoration and glorifying of the Holy God is manifested.

I have in my mind an unforgettable picture which I saw once in a Greek Church. There was a woman kneeling, veiled like a nun, her eyes unalterably fixed upon the 'Royal Door' of the *Ikonostasis*, which opens to show a glimpse of the Holy of Holies. She took no account of the people round about her, she was not listening to the sacred chants, she remained instant in prayer, immobile, except that from time to time she bowed her head with a rhythmic movement to the earth and kissed the ground. She seemed an incarnation of that adoring choir of angels of which the texts of the Eastern liturgies so constantly make mention. Even the attitude and gestures of the faithful clearly show that the service of the Eastern Church is, as St. John Chrysostom called it, 'a dread and terrible mystery.' [50]

But, it might be objected, is not this form of worship merely the highest and finest form of the pagan cultus? Has not something similar been constantly enacted in pre-Christian and

non-Christian temples all the world over? But any one who closely studies the Eastern liturgies will soon recognize that this adoration and thanksgiving is not addressed to a far-off incomprehensible Deity, but to the revealed, the incarnate, the crucified and risen Christ. The Eternal God comes down to the sinner, takes up His abode in him, sanctifies and renews him, and makes him partaker of His own eternal life. This miracle of the sin-forgiving love of God finds striking expression in a Communion Prayer from the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom:

'Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldst enter the mean habitation of my soul, but even as Thou didst suffer Thyself to be laid in a cave and in the manger of the beasts that have no understanding, even as in the house of Symeon Thou didst graciously receive the sinful woman who came to Thee, as I, a sinner, come to Thee, so grant unto me also that Thou wilt come into the manger of my soul that is without understanding and into my sin-stained body. And even as Thou didst not abhor the mouth of the sinful woman who kissed Thine unstained feet, so, O Lord, abhor not the sinner that I am, but in Thy goodness and mercy grant unto me to become partaker of Thine all-hallowed Body and Blood.' [51]

And the Lord does cleanse and sanctify the sinner, nay, in His ineffable mercy He incorporates him with Himself and makes him partaker in all His possessions; He plants in his soul the seed of immortality and in his body the seed of the resurrection. A Communion prayer of Symeon, 'the New Theologian,' sets before us the miracle of sanctification:

'How hast Thou clothed me with Thy shining garment that gleams with the splendour of immortality, and infuses its light through all my members? Thine immaculate Divine Body gleams like the lightning, so wholly is it mingled and interpenetrated with the fire of Thy Godhead, so as no tongue can utter. And this hast Thou granted to me, O my God—that this vile and corruptible habitation of mine has united itself with Thy wholly immaculate Body, and my blood hath mingled itself with Thy Blood; yea, verily, I have become one with Thy Godhead, I have become Thy most pure Body, a true member of that Body, shining with its light.' [52]

Forgiveness and sanctification find their crowning glory in the resurrection to eternal life. The whole conception of the Eastern service is dominated by that saying of the Johannine Jesus: 'Whosoever believeth on me,

hath eternal life, and *is passed* from death into life' (Joh. v. 24). By the celebration of the Eucharist, death is destroyed alike in the individual Christian and in the whole universe; Man and the whole creation are potentially already risen again, for they bear within them the seed of eternal life—not only spiritual life, but also physical. It is from this faith in the death-vanquishing power of the Risen Christ that there streams forth that Easter joy which irradiates the whole liturgy of the Eastern Church. 'This is the kernel,' says a Russian religious thinker, 'this is the focus, the vital nerve, of the whole religion of the Oriental Church—joy in the Risen and Living Lord, joy in Him who has been glorified and is alive for evermore, since His life is also our glorified and eternal life.'[53] This Easter joy reaches its liturgical climax in the service of Easter Eve, in which amid the sound of bells and the lighting of a sea of blazing candles the cry of jubilation rings out: 'It is the day of the Resurrection, let us be enlightened, O ye people! It is the Passover, the Passover of the Lord! For Christ, our

God, hath brought us out from death to life, from earth to heaven, us who now sing the hymn of victory.'[54] In this liturgy the Eastern Church truly possesses the treasure of the Gospel, and it only waits for a great evangelical awakening to reveal this treasure in all its splendour.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROMAN LITURGY

The Roman liturgy [55] shares with that of the Eastern Church the character of a Mystery. This mystic character shows itself at the outset in the use of the Latin language, since this to all non-Roman nations is wholly incomprehensible. But this use of a foreign cultus-language is for the devout Catholic by no means a stumbling-block, but an eloquent witness to the supernatural reality, high above common life, of the things of God. The solemn dignity, the grave melodies, of the Gregorian chants, sound like a message from another world which is wholly different from that sinful world by which we are surrounded. In still higher measure the complete silence at the most sacred moment of the Mass, the Elevation of the Host—when the whole congregation fall upon their knees and beseech

in breathless stillness the presence of the Infinite God—is an impressive sermon on the ineffableness of the Divine.

But the Mystery of the Roman service is not only static but also dynamic. The Roman liturgy is a great Mystery-drama with many acts. It is not so much the individual Mass which has this character—though the symbolism of the Middle Ages did as a matter of fact interpret the separate ceremonies of the Mass as separate acts in the story of Christ's Life and Passion—but rather the Church's year as a whole.[56] The great World-Drama of the story of salvation, from its prologue in the Messianic hope of the Chosen People to its epilogue in the Second Coming of Christ, unrolls itself, in the Festal periods and days of the Church year, before the eyes of the faithful. By the special colour of the priestly vestments, by the varying melodies of the chants, by the choice of the Scripture lessons—by means of all these the Roman Church enables the faithful to follow inwardly the successive acts of the story of salvation, giving to each its appropri-

ate tone of feeling: the quiet joy of Christmas-tide, the deeper seriousness of the Passion-week, the mourning of Good Friday, the jubilant gladness of the Easter Day, the spiritual power of the Feast of Pentecost. There is nothing more characteristic of Roman Catholic religious life at its higher levels than the constant 'living' of the Church year, which makes the history of salvation a thing of the immediate present. An outstanding feature of the great drama of the Church year is the Passion liturgy —that pearl of the Roman service—with its dramatic representation of successive incidents of the Passion story: the Entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, in the Palm-procession of Palm Sunday; the Last Supper, in the Communion of the priests on Maundy Thursday. Still more pictorial are the Foot-washing on the Thursday, the unveiling of the Cross on Good Friday, and the lighting of the *Lumen Christi* on Easter Eve. The Passion, Death, and Resurrection are thus set before the eyes of the people in vivid symbolic acts.

This more strongly dramatic character of

the Church year is another example of the dynamic quality of the Western Church in comparison with the more static Eastern. But still more important than the Mystery-character and the moving drama of the Roman cultus, which to a considerable extent is common also to the Eastern, is its third characteristic, the central importance of the *opus operatum*.

The most distinctive feature of the Roman liturgy is the performance of the sacred act, the *actio*, which in its absolute objectivity is entirely independent of any subjectivity of religious feeling. This rigid objectivity is shown also, outwardly, in the strictly prescribed detail of the whole ritual. Every ceremony, every gesture, every petition is exactly laid down, to the last detail and the smallest word. Any personal freedom in the treatment of the liturgy is strictly forbidden to celebrant and people alike. The whole system of the cultus is regulated by the *Lex sacra*, the inviolable law of the Church. There is a special board of supervision in Rome, the *Congregatio rituum*, which keeps guard over

the precise observation of the ceremonial, and decides any controversial questions which may arise.

This imposing objectivity finds expression also in the *juridical* cast of the wording of the liturgical texts. The prayers are drafted in the same clear terse and weighty style as the paragraphs of the *Codex juris canonici*.

Especially is the so-called 'Collect,' which has been retained by the Lutheran Church also, a characteristic creation of the Roman mind. In content, these typically Roman forms of prayer show, for all their religious depth, a certain rational sobriety. Not without reason has one of those who is most deeply versed in the knowledge of the Roman liturgy described it as 'Dogma moulded into prayer.'[57] Indeed some of the prayers of the Roman Mass are, like the pagan Roman cultus formulas, actually cast in the language of the law codes. Such, for example, is the prayer which precedes the consecration, 'Grant, we pray Thee, that this sacrifice may be in all things duly executed, valid, rational, and acceptable'

(*adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris.*)*

The very strictness of its legalism and its juridical severity give the Roman liturgy a monumental objectivity. But the deepest source of this incomparable objectivity is the Roman conception of the act of consecration and sacrifice. The sacrifice of the Mass is not only a dramatically symbolical representation, but a real renewing of the sacrificial death of Christ: *Immolatio nostra non tantum est repraesentatio, sed immolatio vera, id est rei immolatae oblatio per manus sacerdotis* (Albertus

* One of those who has studied most profoundly the history of the western liturgy, gives an excellent characterization of the *typical* Roman liturgical texts when he says: 'The genius of the native Roman rite is marked by simplicity, practicality, a great sobriety and self-control, gravity, and dignity; but there it stops. And for a rite truly Roman this is just what we might expect. We must not separate in idea the Roman of pre-Christian days and the Roman under the Christian dispensation; at bottom in his instincts, in his powers, in his limitations he is the same.' 'The Roman Mass Book is a product of the Roman genius, in all its clearness, and simplicity, and precision, and order, and practical sense, but also in what may be called the severity of its lines, and its freedom from all that can be called sentiment and effusiveness, or imagination, or mystery.'[68] This verdict, however, is strictly applicable only to the genuinely *Roman* elements of the Catholic Mass, which is itself a complex formation embracing elements of the most diverse character.

Magnus). The altar of sacrifice becomes Mount Calvary ; Christ offers Himself, though without shedding of blood, by the hand of the priest to the Eternal Father as a sacrifice. The liturgical act of the priest is identical with the atoning Death of Christ, and is therefore a real sacrificial act. Christ is present in the elements of bread and wine, 'truly, really, and essentially' ; and the miracle of Transubstantiation is effected by the words of Christ, which the priest speaks in the name and by the commission of the Lord : *Hoc est enim corpus meum, hic est enim calix sanguinis mei.* The priest acts at the sacrifice of the Mass as the representative of Christ upon earth ; he speaks and acts not as a man in his human weakness, but *in persona Christi*, as the technical dogmatic formula expresses it.[59]

We have here a conception of the act of consecration which was unknown to the Early Church, and also differs essentially from the view held in the Eastern Church. In the Early Church, as may be seen from the East Syrian liturgies,[59b] the recital of the narrative of the institution was either wholly lacking, or

else it had—as in the Churches of the East to-day—merely the character of a 'cultus-narrative,' giving the explanation of the liturgical act which follows, and showing it to be Divinely instituted. By making the words of institution the central words of the whole Mass, the great prayer of thanksgiving for the blessings of salvation, the εὐχαριστία, was robbed of its pre-eminent significance, and the *Epiklesis* (the humble petition that by the sending down of His Spirit God would transform the elements) was deprived of its place.[60] Several prayers of the Roman Canon and other documents prove that originally the Roman liturgy also contained an *Epiklesis*, and that, therefore, the present formula of Consecration is of later origin. It seems to have been as late as the fifth century that the noteworthy process of transformation of the Roman liturgy was accomplished which laid the basis of the present mode of Consecration, and, indeed, the present form of the Roman Mass in general. The cause of this curious transformation has its origin in the essential nature of the Roman mind. The character-

istic of the Roman genius is an instinct for the universal, the supra-personal, withdrawn from the influence of all personal spontaneity. Therefore its natural domain is that of law, jurisprudence, and administration. And therefore even supernatural realities must be conformed to these categories, and intercourse with the Divine must be fitted into the scheme of the supra-personal. The *Epiklesis* offered to subjectivity too free a field; it must therefore be replaced by the absolutely objective authoritative words of the Lord Himself, which could not be changed, and which contained within themselves the creative power of the Divine Logos.

A further characteristic of the Roman service is its world-embracing universality and unity. The Roman liturgy is celebrated in the same forms in St. Peter's at Rome as in the unadorned, wood-built mission churches in Greenland, in the Philippines, in China, and in South America. This universality is, however, also of very late origin. Originally the Roman liturgy was just as much the liturgy of a particular city and province as was the

Alexandrian or the Antiochene. The reason why this particular liturgy became a universal liturgy was, in some measure, because it took up into itself much of beauty and worth from other liturgies, Eastern and Western, but, in much greater measure, because the Bishop of the particular Church of Rome became the supreme head of the Church as a whole. The extension of the use of the Roman liturgy and the displacement of the old Western liturgies go hand-in-hand with the development of the Roman Primacy. And, conversely, there was no means by which the Roman Bishops could more effectively suppress the separatism of national or local churches than by the introduction of the Roman, as the one and only, liturgy. The old liturgies of those Eastern churches which have united with Rome, are merely tolerated by the Roman hierarchy; their aim is the Latinization of these remnants of early Christian national Church forms and the extension of uniformity throughout the whole Church.

This tendency towards unity has no doubt its dangerous side, but it has also its beautiful

and elevating aspects. A Roman Catholic, wherever he may go, even in the most distant lands, finds the same service to which he has been accustomed from his youth. Everywhere he hears the language which from his childhood up he has associated with sacred things. He hears the supplication of the *Kyrie Eleison* and the hymn of rejoicing, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*; he is welcomed by the priestly benediction of the *Dominus vobiscum*, the impressive strains of the *Credo in unum Deum* ring in his ears, the priestly exhortation *Sursum corda* raises him to the heavenly world; he listens to the reverent awe of the angelic *Tersanctus*; he hears the welcoming salutation addressed to the Saviour coming in the Sacrament, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*; he recites along with the priest the holiest of all prayers, the *Pater noster*; he approaches the innocent Lamb of God with the words of the Baptist, *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*. But, what is for him still higher and more holy, he finds once again in the Sacrament his Lord and Saviour, whom he, as a child, received at his First Communion,

and who met him again in the tabernacle, upon the altar, and at the communion-rail. This world-embracing liturgical unity—born as it is of the Papal claim to the *plenitudo potestatis*—ever anew exercises a direct religious attraction upon believing hearts.

That is the strange thing about the Roman liturgy : in its hard legalism, its severe impersonality, and its undifferentiated universality, it is like an immovable rock—it is fitting enough that the Rock of Peter should be the favourite image of the Roman theologian—but a living piety has known how to strike this rock and draw from it the pure water of Christian life. This hard rock-formation is, after all, the outcome, by a process of crystallization and weathering, of what, in its molten state, was the Early Christian worship, with its generous warmth ; it is the petrified form of the once glowing lava of Early Christian enthusiasm. As we listen to the lofty strains of the *Gloria*, the *Sursum corda*, and the *Sanctus*, the humble confession of sin in the *Confiteor*, to all the earnest supplications for grace and forgiveness,

for regeneration and sanctification, to all the fervent expressions of longing for the *Communio sanctorum*, to all the brotherly petitions —for the living and the dead—as we listen to all these, it is the echo of Early Christian prayers which falls upon our ear.

But it is by no means the case that these strains of Early Christian faith and life find an echo in the heart of all Catholic believers. Many have no ear for these long-descended Church prayers, or they do not understand the liturgical language. For them the Roman cultus is, and remains, only a petrified, immutable ceremonial formula. But they have managed to find a place for their type of piety, higher or lower, within the firm external framework of the Church's cultus, and lo and behold! picture and frame are found to go together perfectly well. Popular religion[61] has set up within the great cathedral of the liturgy its own more or less crude statues, pictures, and altars; it has turned the liturgy to its own uses—has indeed even to some extent distorted and disfigured the liturgical system. It has taken the pre-Christian con-

ceptions of sacrifice offered by a priest to obtain some desired boon and transferred them to the Mass, seeing in it a magical means for obtaining life and health and freeing 'poor souls' from the pains of Purgatory. The purchased private Mass is the cancer in the Roman system of services. Luther, who in his downright language spoke of it as a shameful worship of idols, is not the only one who has expressed condemnation of it; even a man of deeply Catholic feeling, of saintly gentleness, a man whose tender love for the altar Sacrament has been lauded even by Roman Catholics—the noble Old-Catholic Bishop, Eduard Herzog—has branded it as an 'abuse' and an 'abomination.'[62] But not less dangerous than the abuse of the 'ordered and paid for' private Masses—Luther contemptuously described them as 'cheap-Jack stuff'*—is the crass conception of not a few ignorant Catholics that the priest as *Creator Creatoris* has power over the Eternal God Himself, that he *compels* Him to come down from Heaven upon the altar, and that God

* Lit. 'things bought at a fair.'

humbly *obeys* the utterance of His representative.[63]

But it is not only crass and crude, half or wholly pagan, popular religion which has laid its hands upon the Roman liturgy, but also, on the other hand, a tender and pure Christ-mysticism. This, too, has set up its private chapel within the great cathedral of the liturgy ; it has taken particular elements of that liturgy and has intertwined them with its own most intimately fundamental ideas.[64] In the sacrificial death of Christ, renewed upon the altar, it sees the prototypal image of its own self-sacrifice and self-surrender. The consecrated Host becomes for it a sign of the wonderful presence of God in the redeemed and sanctified soul. But it is in the reception of the Sacrament that this Christ-mysticism finds the ultimate and highest satisfaction of its yearnings. The Communion is for it a blissful union of the human heart, despite all its limitation, with the Infinite God—not, of course, a physical union but a union by grace which is inextricably bound up with the historical redemptive act of the Divine Incar-

nation. Mass, tabernacle, and altar-rail are for Catholic mysticism ever freshly welling fountains vivifying the inner life of grace; above all, it is the adoration of the reserved Sacrament which (as that Catholic religious philosopher, the late Friedrich von Hügel, has said) has made 'Saints, great saints.'[65] The liturgy as a whole is to many Catholic mystics a subsidiary thing—how often indeed do mystical souls outwardly attend Divine service without seeing anything of the ceremonies of the altar or hearing the sacred music! Beyond Time and Space, wholly sunk within themselves, they experience in their inmost hearts the mystery of the Divine Love which became man.

Thus the Roman worship includes within it the most opposite religious forms: popular religion, legalistic religion, juridical elements, mystery-cult and mysticism; in its many-sidedness and its oppositions, it shows itself a true reflection of the manifold and yet so integrally unified system of the Roman Catholic Church. As long ago as the fifth century the Roman Church was truly characterized

by Vincent of Lerins when he said: *omnia fere universaliter comprehendit.*[66] The wonderful cathedrals of the Middle Ages are the material expression in ordered comprehensive design of that mighty spiritual cathedral, the Roman Church throughout the world.

CHAPTER V

THE LUTHERAN SERVICE

And yet this mighty, this glorious cathedral was smitten into ruins by a pious monk. Was that an act of demoniac iconoclasm, as the Roman polemic against Luther maintains? Or was it a radical remedy, a means of getting rid, once and for all, of all the superstitions which had found a lodgment within it? Neither one nor the other. For Luther had no intention whatever of destroying the ancient forms of worship and setting up a new liturgy. He was concerned for one thing only—that the Gospel, the Good-Tidings of God's forgiving love, should be proclaimed, and should bring to every tortured heart joy, confidence, and certainty. He himself had found his way out from the painful anxieties of Roman monkish scrupulosity and from the awe-inspiring mystic circumstances

of the ' dark night ' of the *infernum temporale* [67] through the word of God which had promised him justification by grace alone, ' the just shall live by faith.' These words from the Epistle to the Romans had become for him the Key of Heaven which opened to him God's heart and nature, the secret of His gracious favour and loving mercy. And now his one motive was a great longing to bring to all his brethren and sisters, who, like himself aforetime, had a ' terrified conscience ' and were concerned and anxious about their salvation, the certainty of God's unfathomable love and mercy, of that love which enfolds sinful men in its fatherly arms, which does not ask for works and merits, but for faith alone, which demands nothing of man but trust and an answering love, and a willing, child-like acceptance of the gift of grace. This love the Eternal God has revealed to weak man in His Word; that same prophetic Word in which the Infinite God has revealed His holy jealousy, His inexorable righteousness, His destroying wrath, discloses also God's saving and forgiving mercy. But still more clearly

has He revealed His pardoning love in His Incarnate Son; the Babe in the manger, and the Man of Sorrows on the Cross—these are 'the mirror of God's fatherly heart' which is 'pure love and mercy.' On thee, on thee, O son of Adam is all this bestowed; to you, to you, ye sons of men, are these glad tidings made known; to each of you, unworthy though ye be, has God opened His heart, and poured forth His love, giving you for your own Himself and all His blessings. Not like 'a story of what happened once on a time' and is 'gone by' is this saving act, but 'a gift which abideth for ever.' [68] Yea, 'Christ and the believing heart are so completely united that all is in common which each possesses.' [69]

This miracle of miracles, which no mind of man can explain, no tongue of man ever express, these glad tidings which make the poor human heart beside itself with joy, this gospel must be preached unceasingly. 'All must be done to the end that the word of God may have free course, and may raise and refresh men's souls.' [70] Therefore this proclamation of God's word, this preaching of God's

unmerited mercy, is the very essence of the Christian service; the Protestant service is the 'service of the Word of God.' 'Of all Divine service the greatest and most important portion is the preaching and teaching of the Word of God.' 'If God's Word is not preached, it would be better neither to sing, nor to read, nor to assemble together at all.' 'One thing is needful, namely, that Mary should sit at Christ's feet and listen to His Word daily.'[71] And since this Word of God, these glad tidings, this promise of salvation, is contained in the Scriptures, the Protestant service of the Word of God is a service of the Scriptures. The reading of the Divine Word in the Scriptures is the starting point of all human preaching. The weak and humble preacher has only the office of interpreting and testifying to this eternal Divine mystery of grace which is made known in the Scriptures, and helping his hearers to find in the Scriptures that pearl of great price, the Gospel. To this human interpretation applies the saying of the Apostle, 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels' (2 Cor. iv. 7). But the

treasure itself, the Word of God, is for Luther nothing merely human, nothing subjective, but something entirely objective, as objective, as holy, as inviolable as the Sacrament of the Altar to the Roman Catholic. For Luther the Word *is* a sacrament, *imago Dei*, *involucrum Dei*, *simulacrum Dei*,[72] the image, garment, and likeness of God. In the Word the Christian has God Himself: 'When the Gospel is preached, God is present, He will cause Himself to be found there.'[72b] It is God Himself who, in the words of His human messenger, speaks to the assembled congregation.

But God does not speak to it only in the Word of the Scriptures, and in the testimony and absolution given by the preacher, but also in the Sacrament. The Sacrament is for Luther indeed only a particular form of the Word, a graphic pictorial sermon, a proclamation in the plain language of symbol. As the Word of God is a Sacrament, so the Sacrament is God's Word—the *verbum visibile*, as St. Augustine, long before Luther, had expressed it.[73] The water which is poured over the infant in baptism proclaims, palpably to

the senses, purification and cleansing from all sins through the mercy of God. But above all, the bread and wine, which as the Lord's Body and Blood are handed to the believer, are a symbol of the infinite love which sacrifices itself utterly for the sake of sinful men, and for their redemption goes to the death. This sacramental symbol assures him who believes and trusts, of the forgiving mercy of God. 'That we may know that our sins are forgiven, Christ has left us the Sacrament.'[74] The Sacrament is the seal of the Word of God, as Luther has said in a fine image: 'So do men also in earthly testaments, for not only are the words set down in writing, but also seals and notarial symbols are attached thereto that they may be perpetually valid and worthy of credence.'[75] But just as in letters and documents it is not the seal which is the principal thing, but the writing, so it is, too, with Divine service. The heart of the Sacrament, 'its best and highest portion,' is not the outward symbol, but the Word, God's solemn promise of mercy in which the forgiveness of sins is made known.[76] It needs the addition

of this Word to make the visible symbol into a sacrament: *Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum* ('the word is added to the element and it becomes a sacrament'), as an Augustinian aphorism, often repeated by Luther, expresses it.[77] Without 'the word and the vow of God' the sacraments are 'dead and naught, like a soul without life.'[78] For Luther, no less than for the Roman Church, the most important thing in the celebration of the Sacrament is the recitation of the words of institution, 'This is my Body,' 'This is my Blood.' But these words are for him no miracle-working formula of consecration, by which the Priest as representative of Christ changes the elements; they are a powerful *sermon* on the most important article of the faith, the forgiveness of sins, which has been revealed in the death of Christ upon the Cross. These words of institution are for Luther 'a short summary of the whole Gospel.' He therefore anathematizes those 'godless Mass-priests' who, out of this clear sermon, have made a 'word of Consecration,' and by repeating them in a low voice, 'have hidden them so

secretly that you might think they wanted no Christian to know them.' [79] The Sacrament is thus no *opus operatum*, but a preaching of the Gospel, which awakens and strengthens faith and confidence, and 'lovingly comforts troubled hearts and evil consciences'—*sacramenta justificantis fidei et non operis*, as Luther's terse formula runs.[80]

The Word of God, then, is the Alpha and Omega of the Lutheran service. But the Word must find an echo in the heart of the assembled believers. God's speech to man must evoke a response in man's speech to God, in prayer. In prayer and in hymns of supplication the congregation accepts in utter humility and thankfulness God's wonderful gift of grace, assents to it with firm faith, and appropriates it with glad confidence. 'Where forgiveness of sins is, there is also Life and Blessedness'—this saying from Luther's 'Little Catechism' might stand as the keynote of the Lutheran service. With all its high seriousness there is manifest in it an intense joy welling forth from assurance of salvation, the joy of the redeemed. Herein

lies, as Leonhard Fendt in his great book on the Lutheran Church service in the sixteenth century [81] has shown, the close relationship of the Lutheran service to the Early Christian. As we listen to the classic Lutheran hymns of thanksgiving and petition, the hymns of a Luther and a Paul Gerhardt, of a Benjamin Schmolck and a Johann Rist, or of the great Swedish hymn-writers, Franzén and Wallin, how joyous and jubilant they are!

Here is a simple confidence in God's grace, which, apart from any doing of ours, justifies and redeems us; here is a consoling assurance of being safely sheltered, for time and eternity, in God's infinite love; here is a childlike trust in God's fatherly compassion, which pours out before Him all its need and yearning; here is an unshakeable confidence, which in the face of all the powers of evil, of sin, death, and the devil, relies undauntedly upon the Word of God.

This joyousness of faith speaks out as clearly in the liturgical prayers as in the hymns. And all these prayers and hymns of thanksgiving and petition are real congregational prayers.

The Lutheran service is not a priestly mystery-service performed in a dead ecclesiastical language, but a people's service in which the officiant and the congregation alike speak the living language of the present day. As a congregational service the Protestant service knows, in fact, no distinction between priest and people. The preacher and officiant in the service has no special priestly-sacramental power of consecration; he is not the representative of God, but the representative of the people, who, for the sake of seemliness and order, does that which every Christian, in virtue of the universal priesthood of believers, has the right to do. And for that very reason, because minister and people are one living unity, the Protestant service demands the most intensely active participation on the part of the congregation. Only when the testimony of the preacher and the prayer of the officiant kindles faith and love in the heart of the hearer, and the Word of God does not 'return unto Him void'—only then is the service a truly congregational service.

The proclamation of the Word, and its

echo in the united prayer of faith—that is the evangelical service as Luther understood it. And since everything depends on the Word and on faith, therefore all outward forms are of subsidiary importance. 'When the Word, as the main matter, goes right, there everything else goes right,' says Luther.[83] Accordingly the Lutheran service can equally well assume the ornate robe of an elaborate liturgy, or the simple dress of a Bible-reading. It can have as much wealth of content in a plain room, guiltless of ornament, as in a stately cathedral. A complete freedom of form is implicit in the characteristic idea of the Lutheran service. In the richest Catholic forms—with candles and vestments, ceremonies and incense—it is not less 'evangelical' than in the humblest puritanical dress. 'One thing is needful'; if only the Gospel, the glad tidings of the *gratia sola*, is preached, then outward ceremony may be present or absent. One thing alone is contrary to the idea of the evangelical service—legalism and compulsion—whether of a high-churchly or of a puritanical character. Again and again

does Luther warn his followers against regarding his order of service, or any other, as representing a law of universal validity, as is the case with the Roman formulary of the Mass.

Evangelical worship demands freedom, but on the other hand the religious and ecclesiastical life of the community has need of definite outward ordinances which, in spite of all elasticity and comprehensiveness, exercise a formative influence, and constitute a safeguard alike against the chaos of subjectivity and the reign of mediocrity and makeshift. The forms, therefore, which have been created by Early Christianity, and which embody the living faith of centuries, are a better framework for Protestant worship than the extempore creations of individual preachers and congregations. Accordingly, by an inner necessity the Lutheranism of the Reformation period created for itself evangelical forms of service out of portions of the Roman Mass.[82b] In their manifold variations and frequent changes they form an eloquent testimony to the evangelical principle of freedom, but with all their differences in particular passages, they

do represent an integral type, and are constructed on the same principle out of the building material of the old formulary of the Mass. A particularly obvious example is that of the rich Swedish liturgy.[83]

This liturgy opens with the 'Trishagion' of Isaiah's Temple vision, 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, Heaven and earth are full of his glory.' This holy God is near, nay, present with His people: 'The Lord is in His holy Temple.' But He does not dwell in a house made with hands, but in Heaven and in the hearts of men. 'His throne is in Heaven; He is likewise near to such as be of an humble and contrite heart.' Conscious of this holy nearness of God, the congregation makes confession in 'the Prayer of Olaus Petri,'—perhaps the most profoundly penitential prayer in any of the Christian liturgies, acknowledging its sinfulness and guilt, and beseeching forgiveness in reliance upon God's promise and Christ's merit:

'I, a poor sinful man, who have been born in sin, and, since my birth all the days of my life in manifold wise have offended against Thee, confess from my

whole heart before Thee, O holy and righteous God, most loving Father, that I have not loved Thee above all things, nor my neighbour as myself. Against Thee and Thy holy commandments have I sinned, in thought, word, and deed, and know myself to be worthy of eternal damnation, if Thou desiredst to enter into judgment with me, as Thy righteousness demands, and as my sins have deserved. But now hast Thou, Beloved Heavenly Father, promised to enfold with Thy tender mercy all penitent sinners who turn unto Thee and in loving faith take refuge in Thy Fatherly compassion and in the merits of Our Saviour, Jesus Christ. For their sakes wilt Thou forgive them wherein they have offended against Thee and reckon not their sins unto them any more. Therein do I put my trust, poor sinner that I am, and confidently make petition to Thee that, according to Thy promise, Thou wouldst deign to be merciful and gracious to me and forgive all my sins, to the praise and glory of Thy holy name.'

Then, with the Early Christian cry for help, the *Kyrie Eleison*, the congregation reinforces this great prayer for the removal of guilt. And, in the assurance of the forgiveness of sins, it raises the Early Christian hymn of praise, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the jubilant song of the redeemed soul. This is the first climax of the service. Then, in the Collect, the congregation prepares itself for the

preaching of the Word, and beseeches heavenly aid :

' O God our Heavenly Father, who hast made known unto us through the Gospel the way of redemption for the forgiveness of our sins, we pray Thee grant unto us that we may not contemn Thy Word, but receive it from our hearts, and put our sole trust in Thy mercy and in the merits of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ . . .'

Then the people listen to the Word of God out of the Old and New Testaments, the Word of God's holiness and love, of His judgment and His mercy. In faith they receive it, and strengthen their believing confidence with the weighty, lapidary brevity of the Early Christian Baptismal Confession, or with the fuller and more imposing Creed of the Nicene Fathers. This is the second climax of the service ; indeed, the Swedish bishop, Einar Billing, one of the ablest representatives of Scandinavian Lutheranism, sees in it the culminating point of the whole. Then the congregation gives itself up to the preacher, to be led into the deep things of Christ. Through the imperfect word of man humble faith is able to hear the voice of the Eternal God. And in a prayer of thanksgiving and petition the

congregation makes its response to this gift of the Word of God :

> ' Praised be God and magnified to all eternity, for that He hath comforted and taught and exhorted and warned us. May His Holy Spirit confirm the word in our hearts, that we may not be idle hearers thereof, but may daily grow in Faith, Hope, Love, and Patience, until the end ; and may attain unto eternal bliss through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Then the congregation—following the example of Early Christianity—lays before the face of God in a general prayer of intercession all its own needs and the needs of all Christians everywhere, and of mankind in general. Finally it gathers up all its longing for God and His Kingdom in the most sacred of all Christian prayers, the ' Our Father,' which, following Early Christian custom, it concludes with a solemn doxology. This is the third and last climax of the service, and is regarded by many as the culminating point of the evangelical ' service of the Word.' Then after a short prayer of thanksgiving the officiant beseeches God's blessing upon the people in the words of the Aaronic benediction. The last word of the liturgy is ' Peace.'

With the wishing of peace the service concludes ; in peace the pious worshippers leave the House of God. ' The peace which is beyond all understanding '—that is the spiritual condition of the Christian to whom has been granted the assurance of salvation.

The Lutheran liturgy has often been described as an unsuccessful recasting of the Roman, as a mutilated Mass from which the heart has been cut out. But on a closer examination it reveals itself as an integral unity, nay, more, as a work of art. This liturgy, with its combination of Early Christian liturgical elements, is an embodiment of the genuine Lutheran spirit. ' Sin and Grace,' the ground-notes of the Lutheran experience of salvation from the theme of the whole liturgy. It begins with the thought of sin, and it ends with the assurance of grace, in holy peace.

This form of service, with its emphasis upon the assurance of salvation, was for the men of the sixteenth century a Divine revelation, of the influence of which upon their spirits we can form to-day only an imperfect conception.

But for later generations this service was no longer what it had been in the time of the first love. On the contrary, in many places, Lutheran worship became more and more arid, till in many parts of Germany to-day all sense of the wealth, power, and beauty of the Lutheran liturgical system has died away; and whenever any attempts are made to revive the old spirit of worship, some 'watchman on the walls of Zion' is sure at once to voice his suspicion of Romanizing tendencies. The primary cause of this unhappy impoverishment of the service is that in many places the liturgy became petrified into an outward, almost legalistic Church institution, from which the freshness of life had departed. But a deeper reason is to be found in the mischievous effects of the (even to-day not quite extinct) rationalism which sees in a dry ethico-religious instruction the meaning and purpose of the Church service, and has lost all sense of the mystery of the mutual intercourse with God—the drawing-nigh of the Lord to His people, and of the people to the Lord. A third and last reason is the mixing-up of the evangelical

preaching of the word with political and national ideals, which often enough has for its consequence a non-Christian limiting of the horizon to the present world and a clouding of the vision for the purely supernatural miracle of the Grace of God. But even down to the present day there are in the native home of the Reformation some living centres of Evangelical worship—especially in the Deaconess Institutions; above all, Neuendettelsau, founded by a remarkable Lutheran high-churchman, who knew how to give full value to the whole treasure of the Lutheran liturgy—Wilhelm Löhe.[84] He knew also, and proclaimed in word and deed, that Lutheranism must never break away from its connection with the Early Christian liturgy, but that, on the contrary, the way of purification and progress lay in constantly making fuller use of, and adapting to present needs, the liturgical treasures of the Early Church. Above all, it is of the first importance to throw open the liturgical treasure-house of the Reformation century, whose riches would be an astonishment to the world of to-day. On the other

hand, those liturgical reformers who, casting off all tradition, pay homage to the spirit of the age, in the erroneous belief that 'Luther's impulse must carry us beyond Luther,' are heading straight for the abyss of subjectivity.

CHAPTER VI

THE CALVINISTIC SERVICE. THE FORM OF WORSHIP OF THE QUAKERS, MORAVIANS AND OTHERS

QUITE different in its characteristics from the service of the Lutheran Church is that of Calvinism.[85] Even though in outward respects it may differ little from the simpler forms of the Lutheran service found in some parts of Southern Germany, and although the Calvinistic theory of the service is in many respects—*e.g.* in the conception of the Sacrament as the Seal of the Word (*Sigillum verbi*)—dependent on the Lutheran, yet there lies behind the ideal of public worship set up by the Genevan Reformer a different type of religious experience. If the central thought of the Lutheran service is the consolation and peace brought by the forgiveness of sins, the ultimate ideal of the Calvinistic service is the *Gloria Dei*. To proclaim God's glory, to

praise and magnify it, to bow before the awful majesty of God, and to make petition to the King of the Eternal Glory—that is the end and aim which the Calvinistic service sets before it.[8] *Soli Deo gloria!*—the individual man, with his sin and misery and his longing for salvation, becomes as nothing in the splendour of God's Majesty. He throws himself down before Him in the deepest reverence, yea even if God inflicts damnation upon him, for even in the lamentations of the damned God's glory is made manifest. Luther proclaims without ceasing, 'To thee, to thee has God offered salvation'; Calvin knows nothing of the individual, but only the great company of the Elect and Predestined, the holy People of God who are called to reign with God. Therefore the purpose of the service is not to bring the consolations of grace to the sin-laden soul; it is a solemn act of homage on the part of the whole congregation. The whole community of believers comes before God to worship Him in His absolute Greatness and Glory. The place of meeting becomes a sanctuary or temple,

in which God's Glory dwells, in which the congregation in deepest humility prays to its present Lord. Above the door of a church built by Huguenot emigrants, I found the significant inscription :

> ' C'est ici le temple de Dieu,
> Chrétiens, venez dans ce saint lieu
> Avec amour, respect et crainte
> L'adorer dedans sa maison sainte.'

The Calvinistic service thus embodies to a remarkable degree Old Testament and Catholic cultus ideas. When we listen to the impressive *Cantiques* of the French Huguenots, we are constantly reminded of the stately hymns and doxologies of the Early and of the Eastern Church.

> ' Venez Chrétiens et contemplons
> la gloire du roi des rois,
> du monarque des cieux . . .
> Grand Dieu, nous te louons,
> nous t'adorons, Seigneur,
> et nous voulons chanter une hymne à ton honneur.
> Éternel, l'univers te craint et te révère
> comme createur, son monarque et son père.'

While the watchword *Soli Deo gloria !* determines the character of the Calvinistic service

as a service of adoration, it also gives to it its legalistic character. To recognize the greatness of God is at the same time to submit oneself in all things to His holy law. In strict Calvinistic churches the Ten Commandments are read aloud by a Presbyter at every Sunday service. And on the bare walls of Calvinistic churches in Holland the Mosaic Tables of the Law, bearing the Decalogue, stand out as the sole ornament. To perform the service is for the Calvinist to contemplate God's inviolable law and impress anew upon himself its claims :—

> ' Que ta loi me plaît
> O, que j'aime à l'entendre ! '

And finally, the principle *Soli Deo gloria !* is the foundation of that fierce and fanatical Puritanism which is the most obvious outward characteristic of the Calvinistic service. The people must worship God in spirit and in truth. Therefore all symbolism, all ornament, all stateliness of ceremonial is *taboo*, unclean, and sinful ; altar-pieces and crucifixes, candles and flowers, alb and chasuble, choir-singing and organ music—all this is vain show which

distracts men's minds from God, which directs the gaze not to the ultimate Truth, but to something between, and thus detracts from the Glory of God. Therefore, out with all beauty from the service! For the magic of beauty veils from men the tremendous issues of which they are in presence, the consuming fire of God's judgment, the free bestowal of His grace. Away with everything, then, that recalls the abomination of the papist Mass! Calvin, in fact, succeeded in creating a form of service in which no fragment of any importance from the Roman Mass remained. The summons *Lève le cœur* (*Sursum corda!*) is in point of fact the one poor remnant which he (no doubt inadvertently) took over from the ancient liturgy. The ruling principle in the Calvinistic service is the closest adherence to the Bible; indeed this Scripturalism has sometimes gone so far that all church hymns were forbidden, and only the Psalms of David sung, in heavy and monotonous chants without any organ accompaniment.

Thus Calvin, in his reform of the service, took quite another direction from Luther;

and a similar difference shows itself in his view of the Lord's Supper.

For Luther the decisive passage is the words of institution: 'My Body—given for you. My Blood—poured out for you.' And therefore he contends passionately for the real presence of Christ 'in, with and under' the bread and wine; for only the real presence of Christ can make the bread and wine a real pledge of God's sin-forgiving, saving grace. Calvin's favourite passage, on the other hand, is the discourse of the Johannine Jesus about the Bread of Life. The eating of the Bread and the drinking of the Cup is a parallel to the inward acceptance of the power and grace of Christ. Whereas the outward form of the Lutheran Lord's Supper (the kneeling reception of the bread and wine from the hands of the minister) corresponds to the conception of the bestowal of the Divine gift of grace, the form of the Calvinistic Lord's Supper, which is celebrated as a real communal meal, the communicants generally sitting in their pews, displays the collective consciousness of Reformed Christianity.

Thus, two different religious worlds disclose themselves to us when we contemplate the Lutheran and the Calvinistic services. And most clearly of all is this contrast apparent when we open a Lutheran and a Calvinistic hymn-book. In the one, intense joy and a consoling confidence ; in the other an austere heroism ; in the one a radiant warmth ; in the other a subdued glow, a restrained passion ; in the one, childlike trust ; in the other, manly seriousness. As Calvin's personality often proved forbidding in its austerity and hardness, so, too, the Reformed service. A cold shudder passes over us when we enter a Dutch cathedral, whose formerly ornate interior has been stripped bare, and whose gaping emptiness cries aloud for altar-cross and tabernacle. And we continue to shudder when, hungry for grace, we are bidden to listen to the Decalogue, and finally hear ourselves addressed by the preacher as 'My fellow-sharers in damnation,' as in Holland—so an Amsterdam professor has assured us—is not altogether unusual. And yet it would be an injustice if on account of these impres-

sions we failed to perceive the real greatness and strength of this worship—this 'honouring of God,' as it is finely called in the Dutch. Even within the naked walls of a Calvinistic church, the Divine mystery can find its dwelling. There is nothing to speak to our senses, but the Eternal God, who is purest Spirit, stands before us in His supersensible majesty and glory. And whether we hear from the pulpit the central Calvinistic thoughts of the Glory of God, His Judgment and His Majesty, or whether we listen to the reading of a chapter from the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis, something of the Divine is brought home to us. One-sided as the puritanical service of Calvinism may appear, there have been found living Christians to love it with their whole hearts. How often have the Huguenot martyrs, in peril of death, held such a service in the holes and caverns of the Cevennes, when their churches had been destroyed by their Romish persecutors! Nay, it was these services which gave the Huguenot martyrs their supernatural strength, which put into the mouth of a Marie Duran the heroic

watchword 'Résistez!' Such were the services on which Cromwell's victorious Puritans were nurtured; and from such services the mystics of the Lower Rhineland drew the spirit in which they offered their adoration to the infinitely exalted God—as we find it in the unapproachable angelic hymn of Joost van den Vondels.[88]

Alongside these two main types of Protestant worship there are the innumerable forms of the manifold sects, which we can hardly even pass in review. Of these, four types may be selected for notice: the 'Silent Worship' of the Quakers, the Lord's Supper of the Moravian Brethren, the evangelistic service of the Salvation Army and numerous other sects, and the enthusiastic service of the 'Pentecostal Christians' and 'New Apostles.'

The Quaker worship[89] outdoes even that of the Calvinists in its thorough-going immateriality. They reject Baptism and the Lord's Supper, formal prayer and the stated preaching of the Word. In silent devotion they wait together until the Spirit moves one or other of them, and inspires him to

free, extempore preaching or prayer. The 'Inner Light' mysticism here unites itself in a remarkable way with the 'pneumatic' enthusiasm of Primitive Christianity.

In the worship of the Moravian Brethren [90] there survives the fervent brotherly love of the primitive Christian community; child-like love toward the Saviour unites itself with warm love toward the brethren, and so the service becomes a εὐχαριστία in the Early Christian sense. No one has better expressed this spirit of love than Count Zinzendorf in his well-known hymn:

'Herz und Herz vereint zusammen
Sucht in Gottes Herzen Ruh',
Lasset eure Liebesflammen
Lodern auf den Heiland zu.
Er das Haupt, wir seine Glieder,
Er das Licht und wir der Schein,
Er der Meister, wir die Brüder,
Er ist unser, wir sind sein.' *

* This may be pretty closely rendered—

'Heart with every heart united
In God's Heart its rest shall know,
And the flame of love there lighted
Toward the Saviour leap and glow.
He the Head, and we the members,
He the light by which we shine,
Brethren all, as each remembers,
All are His and He is mine.'

In contrast to this eminently communal service, the ' evangelistic services ' which are customary in many Christian sects concentrate attention on the individual soul. By a wholly personal experience the individual is to be led forth out of the sinful world to a life of Christian faith. The means by which this conversion is to be brought about are the preaching of repentance, intensely earnest prayer, and the confession of the already awakened. Though doubtless many erring and seeking children of men have been brought to God along this path, this type of service has sometimes, nevertheless, something forced and artificial, mechanical and tasteless about it.

In still higher measure does the worship of the ' Pentecostal Christians ' [91] and other enthusiastic sectaries run the risk of falling into extravagances. Certainly no earnest Christian will deny that even at the present day the enthusiasm of the Corinthian Church with its ' prophesyings and speaking-with-tongues ' can occur, and here and there really does occur. But any one who has himself witnessed such ' Pentecostal Meetings ' knows

how easily an unhealthy, artificial and tasteless type of religion can insinuate itself, under the guise of Primitive Christian spiritual manifestations. Any of the strictly formulated Christian liturgies gives a much better foundation for united congregational worship than these conventicles with their emphasis on the charismatic gifts, which so easily opens the door to an unbalanced subjectivity.

CHAPTER VII

THE ANGLICAN, OLD-CATHOLIC, AND CATHOLIC-APOSTOLIC LITURGIES

As we have seen, Christian worship assumes a variety of widely differing forms. But those which we have so far examined fall into two main groups, the Mystery-service and the Word-of-God service, each of these two branching into two subdivisions—the first into the Eastern Church service of adoration and the Roman service of sacrifice; the second into the Lutheran service of grace, and the Calvinistic service of adoration. The Eastern Church has affinities with the Calvinistic in its emphasis on adoration and 'glorifying God,' the Roman with the Lutheran in their emphasis on the words of institution of the Lord's Supper. Between these two main types stand the intermediate types, like the Anglican, the Catholic-Apostolic, wrongly called Irvingite, and the Old-Catholic.

Anglicanism [92] is, as Friedrich von Hügel excellently expressed it, a compromise between Calvinism and its *bête noire*, Roman Catholicism. This characteristic of compromise is apparent also in the order of service of the Book of Common Prayer. Much valuable liturgical wealth of the Early Church is retained, and reminted, the feeling for beauty and seemliness in divine worship is preserved, and the high estimation of the Eucharist is not weakened ; but over all there hovers the shade of the Genevan zealot. For that reason the Anglican service, in spite of its impressive power, is not an organic unity in the same measure as the 'pure' (although extreme) types of service like the Roman and the Calvinistic. From this point of view the Anglo-Catholics were well advised in endeavouring to remove the Protestant elements from the service, and to recast the Anglican liturgy, as regards both form and content, entirely in the spirit of the Pre-Reformation Church. But, on the other hand, the greatness, indeed one might say the uniqueness, of the Anglican Church of to-day lies precisely in the fact that

it gives room enough, both in its worship and in its Church life in general, for the Catholic as well as the Protestant * religious ideal. If to-day under its roof the tender piety associated with the medieval cult of the Reserved Eucharist can find a home alongside of the austere Protestant cult of the Word, that clearly shows that the manifold variety of the forms of worship in no way derogates from the unity of the Church of Christ.

The Catholic-Apostolic liturgy,[93] in spite of dependence in some particular points on the Roman Mass, is as a whole constructed out of the early liturgies, especially those of the Eastern Church. It is undoubtedly one of the finest and fullest forms of Christian worship. Indeed, of all the liturgies of to-day it comes perhaps nearest to the Primitive

* The actual word used is *evangelisch*, but to translate it by 'Evangelical' here would be misleading as suggesting a reference to a party-title. In German *evangelisch* is frequently used as a more or less conventional antithesis to *katholisch*, where an English writer would say 'Protestant.' In the majority of passages in the present work, however, the author no doubt desires to give *evangelisch* its full value as emphasizing the *positive* as opposed to the *negative* side of Protestantism, and it has therefore been translated accordingly.—*Translator*.

Christian worship; for, on the one hand, as in the Primitive Church, every Sunday service is a Eucharistic service, in which the whole congregation takes part; while on the other, though they are bound to the classical form, there is enough room left for the spontaneous prayer of the prophets. During and after the distribution of the elements, such as are moved by the Spirit pray and prophesy freely from the heart, while the minister and the rest of the people keep silence until these have given their testimony.

The Old-Catholic service,[94] as it has been celebrated for the last forty years or so in Germany and Switzerland, is the Roman Mass in the German language, freed, however, from all excessive ceremonial, purified from all unevangelical accessories, and supplemented by valuable elements from the Early Christian and Eastern liturgies (*e.g.* the General Prayer of Intercession and the Invocation), and by the use, as in the Protestant Churches, of hymns as an expression of the ardent devotion of the worshipper. It is in a real sense a revival of the Early Christian form of worship,

since it takes the middle path between the mystery-liturgy in a language which is not that of the people and the often so austere service-of-the-word in the Protestant Churches. What a deep impression the Mass in German can make on a pious hearer is shown by the Styrian poet, Peter Rosegger. This warm admirer of the Roman Catholic liturgy speaks with enthusiasm of the Old-Catholic service, into which he came once by chance in an Austrian town. For there he found the service of his dearly-loved Roman Mother-Church held in a purely evangelical spirit and clothed in simple German garments. The finest description of the high significance of the Old-Catholic Mass was given by the veteran Old-Catholic Bishop of Switzerland, Dr. Eduard Herzog († 1924),[95] than whom there could be no better witness to evangelical Catholicity.

'In our celebration of the Mass the whole revelation of God in Christ is, as it were, set visibly before men's eyes. . . . It is, so to speak, an object lesson which for innumerable worshippers is much clearer and more attractive than the most instructive sermon. How often is the spoken word only half heard . . . and

never reaches the heart at all! But the liturgical setting-forth of the truths and the acts of revelation is, for young and old, for learned and unlearned alike, always equally intelligible to all, equally fresh, inspiring, and vivifying.

'O let us give to our worship so pure and lofty a content and so beautiful a form that nothing purer, loftier, or more beautiful can anywhere be found!' [96]

This exhortation of the saintly bishop bears within it a great promise.

CHAPTER VIII

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

We have seen that all the manifold forms of Christian worship owe what is best and deepest in them to the preservation or revival of the living forces which were manifest in Early Christian worship. But therein lies the historic tragedy of Christian worship, that the great swelling stream of life which brimmed its banks in the primitive Christian worship has become divided and now runs this way and that in many channels larger and smaller. And still more remarkable is the fact that every one of these smaller streams boasts of possessing the whole of the water of life. Catholic and purely Protestant types of worship each regards itself as absolute, and sees in the contrasted type an aberration from the truth.

The Roman Church claims for its service the

whole fullness of the grace of Christ and denies to all Protestant services the sacramental presence of Christ. While Luther and Calvin on their part have stigmatized the Roman Mass as a fearful abomination, as a sinful serving of idols, as devilish idolatry.[97] But where the orthodox representatives of the various Confessions see an *Aut—aut*—the mutually exclusive alternatives of Truth or Lie, God or Idol —the unprejudiced student of religion sees an *Et—et*, an array of types of equal or but slightly different value.

But the question arises, does not this way of looking at things lead to an all-levelling relativity, a levelling which destroys their essential value, of each of the contrasted types?

There is, however, a higher method of study than the religious-historical method of analysing into types, which necessarily operates from without. There is a Christian method of study, which operates from within; and it, in face of the manifold forms of Christian worship, will declare with St. Paul, διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσίν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ('there are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit,'

1 Cor. xii. 4). I know most of the Christian forms of service not from books, but from real life ; and I am deeply indebted to the most diverse forms for what one and another ministers to thought and life, to heart and head. The Roman service was that of my Mother Church. Here I learned to perceive the greatness and splendour of Christian worship. *Introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem meam* ('I will go up unto the altar of God, to God who maketh my youth to rejoice')—how often have I, when serving the altar, said these words at the prayer of ascent of the Mass, and how often have I served as candle and incense-bearer before the Holy of Holies with the words of that supremely appropriate hymn upon my lips, '*Adoro te devote, latens Deitas.*' With the service of the Eastern Church I became familiar while still young ; it seemed to me like a reflection from the Heavenly world, like an echo from the hymn of praise of the Cherubim. And my love to it has grown progressively the more my liturgical studies have made me familiar with the incomparable

devotional forms which it possesses. In the Old-Catholic and Catholic-Apostolic Churches there dawned on me the idea of congregational worship, and I gained some insight into the secret of the Early Christian Eucharistic service, which was at once a Mystery-service and a service in which the people had an active share; 'For there I found both Catholic and Protestant worship, the sacred word and the sacred act, prayer and sacrifice, united together in perfect harmony.' [98]

The Lutheran service, again, was a revelation to me. A new world swam into my ken when for the first time I heard the congregation in a Lutheran Church unite in the Lord's Prayer—not as a sacred formula and a meritorious act, but as the living expression of an unshakeable assurance of salvation, of a joyful sonship to God.[99] And since the time when, in the venerable church of St. Birgitta at Vadstena (in Sweden), I first entered a Lutheran pulpit, I have often enough experienced what it means to be permitted to preach the Gospel, to be a witness to God's forgiving love.

Again, in the pulpit of a Reformed church,

built by Huguenot exiles, I came to recognize that even in the most austere Puritanism God's Spirit can be alive in the congregation. Never have I felt that I could preach so directly from the heart as in this little wooden church, unadorned, ugly, and in disrepair.

And because I have experienced all this, I do not weigh and judge when confronted with the various forms of service, and I do not set up (in spite of my own High-Church sympathies) any liturgical ideal, but thank God that I have been permitted to see in this manifoldness the riches of His gifts of grace. And I rejoice that I am inwardly enabled to take part in the services of the most various Christian Communions.

Moreover, I perceived not only the multiplicity, but also the underlying unity. A certain outward unity may indeed be seen in the fact that with few exceptions all have in common the reading of the Gospels, the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and the Holy Supper. But far more important is the inner unity, and that lies in the fact that all Christian forms of worship (including that of the Quakers) are

based upon, and dominated by, the belief in the *Living Christ*. In the Word, and in the Sacrament, in the prayers and hymns of the people, the living Christ makes known His presence. In Christian worship the promise of the Risen Lord is fulfilled, ' Lo, I am with you all the days, even to the end of the world ' (Mt. xxviii. 20). Here is revealed what Christ is ; not an ideal human personality belonging to the past, such as liberal theology sees in Him, and not an empty name for a will-act, which is to be sought outside us, of the transcendent, unknown and unknowable God, as the ' dialectic ' theology believes. No, Christ is to us a very present Saviour, who unceasingly makes known His forgiving love to His disciples and to all His people. And since Christ is truly present, the Church is not a mere human association, but a Divine creation, Christ's ' Bride,' Christ's ' Body,' the ' Fullness ' of Christ. And therefore the Church on Earth when engaged in worship is a part of the Heavenly Church, and its prayers and hymns are a foretaste of the Heavenly glory ; the Christian service is a portion of the eternal

joy. Not without reason does the author of the Apocalypse picture the blessedness of those that have been 'made perfect' as a Divine service of adoration and thanksgiving, as a εὐχαριστία, as a Marriage Feast. Therefore the deepest notes of the Christian service are those prayers and hymns, filled with the longing for eternity, which look forward towards the Great Consummation, the worship of the Church Triumphant — *Maranatha*, Ἔρχου, κύριε Ἰησοῦ ('Come, Lord Jesus').

CATHOLICITY

EASTERN, ROMAN, AND EVANGELICAL

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ('Wheresoever Jesus the Christ is, there is the Catholic Church,'—Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.*, 8, 2). The Church of Christ has from its origin been Catholic, *i.e.* ecumenical (world-wide), and universal, as ecumenical and universal as the kingdom of God which Jesus proclaimed. 'Many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of God' (Mt. viii. 11). No doubt the Church of Christ was, during His earthly life, a small inconspicuous flock. But this 'little flock' had been promised by Jesus that it was 'the Father's good pleasure to give them the Kingdom' (Lk. xii. 32). No one in Jesus' lifetime could have realized from seeing this little flock that it was the germ-cell of the

future world-wide Church; it was like the precious seed which lies hidden in the bosom of Mother Earth, of which God alone knows whether life will come forth from it, and what character and shape this life will assume. The choice and sending forth of the Apostles was the mysterious act of generation by which the Divine Redeemer called into being here on earth in the bosom of the Jewish religious community His Church that was to be. But the actual birthday of the Church was the Day of Pentecost. And precisely in this very hour of its birth the Church of Christ revealed itself in its Catholic, that is to say its world-embracing, breadth. The miracle of the tongues at Pentecost was no mere casual enthusiastic phenomenon, but an anticipation of the future world-wide Church; it revealed the unity of the Pentecostal Spirit in the manifoldness of the peoples and tongues. This ecumenical Church of the Day of Pentecost became an abiding reality through the preaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles. He not only preached the Gospel of Christ through the wide world of the Roman Empire, he freed

it from the limitations of Judaism, and did so without causing a breach of continuity with the historical Jesus and the original Apostles chosen by Him. The Pauline churches scattered throughout the world were united with the primitive Christian community by the bonds of faith and love. They were all members of the one Body of Christ. Every individual local church, indeed every smallest house-church, was a representative of the Church as a whole, was, indeed, not *a* but *the* ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ. In the Eucharistic Feast this unity of the Church found visible expression. At the Table of the Lord's Supper there was revealed to the assembled community a foreshadowing of the perfecting of this unity in the approaching apocalyptic kingdom. 'As this bread was scattered upon the mountains and has been gathered into one, so let Thy Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom,' are the words of the earliest known Christian prayer at the Lord's Supper (*Didache*, ix.).

And yet even in the primitive Church we see divisive tendencies at work. Very early,

separate groups began to gather about outstanding individuals in the Church; there were Cephas-Christians, Apollos-Christians, and Paul-Christians. But in opposition to these divisions St. Paul contends with holy passion for the one indivisible Christ (1 Cor. i. 10). To these schisms also the Fourth Evangelist opposes Jesus' great prophetic discourse about the one flock and the one shepherd (Joh. x. 16). To a Christendom already splitting into many heresies he calls aloud in the words of the great High-Priestly prayer of Christ: 'that they all may be one in a unity as close as the unity between the Son of God and His Eternal Father' (Joh. xvii. 20 ff.). And to a Christian community which was disputing over the heritage left them by the Redeemer he holds up that beautiful symbol of the unity of the Church—the coat without seam that was not divided (Joh. xix. 23 f.).

'Wheresoever Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.' Christ is the ground of unity in the Church as we know it in the New Testament. No formulated dogma, no juridical

institution, no fixed unalterable universal liturgy, none of these things is the foundation of primitive Christian unity, but faith and love alone. Each individual church had complete liberty in regard to all outward forms, and yet the unity of the faith was preserved. In its faith the Early Church had strength enough to exclude and overcome the dangerous heresies of Gnosticism and Marcionism, and so to fulfil the Apostolic exhortation, *Timothee, custodi depositum* ('O Timothy, guard that which is committed to thy trust,' 1 Tim. vi. 20).

Even after the essential forms in dogma, organization and cultus had received a firmer structure, the unity of the Church was not a matter of coercion. In the century which witnessed the formulation of the Nicene Creed, the Church presents a picture of uniformity in manifoldness. And this Church had, in its inner unity, the kind of strength which enabled it to live down all those heresies of which the Arian was chief.

In the second half of the first millennium, however, this unity was broken up. The process began with the schisms of the Nestor-

ian and Monophysite heretics. Flourishing Churches were violently separated from the general body of the Church. But while Arianism disappeared, leaving no trace behind, these 'heretical' Churches have maintained themselves down to the present day, and, in some cases at least, as among the Thomas Christians in India, display a vigorous Christian life. But a much deeper cleavage was that between the Eastern and Western Churches, a division which, in spite of all efforts, it has proved impossible to heal. Historical events merely gave the occasion for the separation; the deeper reason for it was the steadily increasing differentiation of two distinct types of Church, which ceased to understand each other, and of which each came to regard itself as absolute, condemning and anathematizing the other.

Even to-day there is no possibility of union. For Rome demands from the adherents of the Eastern Church unconditional submission, while the Orthodox Church on its part demands of Rome a return to Early Church tradition. The union of some of the smaller

Eastern communities with Rome does not even signify a promising beginning of reunion. The compulsory partial Latinization of those Eastern communities which do join Rome always carries with it the seeds of a fresh schism, as the large bodies of Roumanians who are returning to the Orthodox Church show. The separation of the Orthodox and Roman Churches appears to be final.

But the Western Church, after its separation from the Eastern, by no means remained a unity. Indeed, the Reformation brought about a still deeper cleavage than the schism between East and West. For it was not a mere falling asunder of two differentiated but still similar types, but the formation, by a tremendous revolution, of a new type of Christianity. However much the various Protestant Churches, sects and bodies, may differ from one another, they are all at one in desiring a pure and unadulterated gospel, and in the endeavour to restore the Church to its original purity. All efforts at reunion, from the century of the Reformation down to the time of Leibniz, have failed completely.

This third type of Christian thought and life seems also indestructible.

A comparison of Early Christianity with that of to-day reveals a remarkable fact. In the Early Church all schisms and heresies were of relatively short duration; they are known to us to-day only through Church history. In the Christianity of the present day, on the other hand, the divisions seem permanent; it seems as if none of the three Church types had strength enough to absorb the others.

Thus the great question arises: Are these divisions of the Christianity of to-day necessarily permanent? Are these three Church types, as Cardinal Newman in his Anglican period believed, three mighty branches of one and the same tree, limbs of one and the same organism? And do the roots of their difference even reach back into primitive Christian soil? Is it possible that the contrasted characters of the three Churches show the same differences as those of the three great disciples of the Lord, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John? Might it not be possible, in the light of the

different types of piety in Primitive Christianity, to reach a deeper inward understanding of the distinctive character of these Churches, and by this understanding to open up the way to an inward union ?

CHAPTER II

THE EASTERN CHURCH

Of the three Churches the most venerable and conservative is the Eastern Church. (We include under this term all the Christian Churches of the East, neglecting the relatively slight divergences of the Monophysites and Nestorians from the Orthodox Church.) The knowledge of the Eastern Church possessed by Western, especially Protestant, Christianity, is extremely inadequate. The picture drawn of it in the current Protestant works on the various Confessions is defective, and in some respects simply distorted. Even a historian of dogma as learned and as sympathetic as Harnack has allowed his picture of the Eastern Church to be coloured by his Liberal-Protestant point of view. Not without a certain justice has one of the leading Russian theologians, Nikolaus Glubokowski,

characterized Harnack's comparison between Eastern and Western Christianity as artificial.[100] The *soul* of the Eastern Church has for the most part remained completely hidden from Western scholars.

'Where Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church.' This ancient dictum of Ignatius applies also to the Orthodox Church. In the centre of its thought and life stands the belief in the Incarnate and Risen Christ. The Christ-mysticism of Athanasius is the germ-cell of the Eastern Church. 'God became man in order to make us divine.' 'God united Himself with our nature in order that our nature by union with God might be deified.' The Divine Love entered into the fallen world, the light of the Logos has shone out in the darkness, and 'glorified'* all humanity, nay, the whole Cosmos. Christ's Resurrection signifies the resurrection of the whole world. Even now the world is potentially risen, renewed and glorified. In the

* The German word is also the technical term used of the Transfiguration, and this association tends to colour even its more general use.—*Translator*.

Easter liturgy of the Eastern Church there falls on our ears the tremendous sentence : ' Christ is risen, and of the dead there is no longer any in the grave.' ' From death to life, and from earth to Heaven, has Christ our God brought us over—us, who now sing the hymn of victory.' The Easter joy, which finds its most intense expression in the liturgy for the night of Easter eve, is the keynote of the whole Christian life of the Eastern Church.[101]

This Easter joy is nevertheless not merely retrospective ; the miracle of the Incarnation, Resurrection and Glorification does not belong, as a mere historical event, to the past ; on the contrary, it is constantly renewed in the liturgy. The extraordinarily ornate worship of the Eastern Church is inspired by a belief in the *living* Christ. All the dazzling splendour, all the gorgeous pomp, all the liturgical stateliness which so often strikes the Western mind as distasteful, is designed only to give an appropriate outward setting to the permanent miracle of the Incarnation, the Epiphany and the Parousia. ' We receive the King of the Universe who comes with His

unseen train of the angelic hosts.' 'Thou hast provided for us that which the angels have desired to look into.'[102] The humble *Epiklesis* of the Priest effects the miracle of the real presence of Christ; the elements of bread and wine become vehicles of the Divine δόξα; the men who see, touch, and receive these elements become partakers of the Divine Nature and Divine Life; the Eucharist is nothing less than the 'medicine of immortality' (*φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, φάρμακον ζωῆς*).[103]

This miracle of the permanent Incarnation of Christ awakens in the faithful two feelings—a feeling of deepest reverential awe before the Holy God who under this visible veil draws nigh to His people, and a feeling of jubilant joy over the undeserved grace and glory which the Heavenly Lord bestows upon the redeemed. Thence comes the constantly recurring cry of reverent adoration, *ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος* ('Holy is God, Holy, Mighty, Immortal'), and thence the constant joyful ejaculation of praise, *δόξα σοι, κύριε, δόξα σοι* ('Glory unto Thee, O

Lord, Glory unto Thee'). Nikolaus Glubokowski has somewhere strikingly said, with a play on the two senses of *δόξα*, 'The designation "Orthodox" betokens not only "right in doctrine," but also "rightly glorifying."'[104] This partaking, through the cultus acts, in Christ's glory is by no means a mere selfish indulgence of the individual, but a fellowship with the whole company of believers, a loving union with the whole Church, nay, with the whole of mankind, the whole of the creation. In the cultus the *Communio Sanctorum* is made manifest to the senses; the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant are united in one great choir of 'them that love,' and in every liturgy there sounds forth the exhortation, 'Let us love one another and make our confession in unison.' This love to the Church, to the people, to humanity, finds an incomparable expression in the prayers of universal intercession which form an essential element in the Eastern liturgy.

The Church is the great fellowship of all believers, the mystical *σῶμα Χριστοῦ*. When the Christian takes part in the worship of the

Church, he thereby takes his place in that great stream of life which flows down through the centuries from Christ Himself. Nothing could be more foreign to the Eastern Christianity than that juridical idea of the Church which is characteristic of Western Catholicism. The Eastern conception is essentially spiritual. The Church is the great fellowship of prayer; 'the life-blood of the Church,' says the great religious philosopher, Chomiakov, 'is prayer for one another, and the adoration of the Lord is its vital breath.'[105] Only in appearance does the Eastern Church bear the stamp of a stiff institutionalism; in reality its character is 'pneumatic.' The seemingly outward cultus forms are only the containing vessel of the Divine πνεῦμα, coloured transparencies through which is seen the Divine δόξα. Through these liturgical media the unseen world of glory forces its way into the visible world of reality, and carries believing men up with it into the sphere of the eternal. The Eucharistic celebration mediates to the pious worshipper the eternal θέασις and γεῦσις (seeing and tasting) of God. When the

Eastern Christian gazes through the *βασιλικὴ θύρα*, the 'royal door' of the *Ikonostasis*, upon the altar of the sanctuary, the *ἄδυτον*, in its glow of candle-light, he believes himself to be looking out of this miserable world into the Kingdom of Glory and Blessedness.

The religious life of the Eastern Church is thus wholly directed towards the other world. This Primitive-Christian other-worldliness finds its strongest expression in Monasticism. An Orthodox monk has, not without justification, described the monastery as 'the sinews and basic structure of the Church' (*νευρὰ καὶ ἑδραιώματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας*).[106] And the deepest purpose of Orthodox monasticism is the calling-forth of the Primitive Christian 'pneuma.' The monks, by the bloodless martyrdom of their complete self-surrender to the world to come, give their witness for Christ. By their ascetic life they wage an unremitting war against all power that is opposed to the Divine, in their meditation they behold the heavenly light, in inward prayer they hold intercourse with Christ as the Heavenly Bridegroom. These 'men of

the Spirit,' with their immediate experience of God, are the real exponents of the 'cure of souls' in the Eastern Church, the spiritual fathers (πνευματικοὶ πατέρες) as the striking phrase is. Lay monks, who had not been consecrated as priests, but had received only a consecration to the monastic life, and the baptism of the Spirit, were for centuries charged in the Eastern Church with the administration of the Sacrament of penitence. The liturgical services are the business of the priests, but the cure of souls falls to the monks.[107] For the communication of the assurance of salvation the power conferred by ordination to the priesthood does not suffice, there is needed also the charismatic endowment of the Spirit; and in the Eastern Church this 'pneumatic' character is especially associated with the monks. The fact that all the Bishops are drawn from their ranks, gives the hierarchy a monastic character. The qualification which Thomas Aquinas demands of the hierarch—that he should be an adept in the *vita contemplativa*—is realized in a higher degree among the Eastern monkish Bishops

than among the Western. The monasteries are, in the Eastern Church, the native home of the *vita spiritalis* ; in them Christ-mysticism attains an astonishing luxuriance. The ardent hymns of Symeon, 'the New Theologian,' which are almost unknown in the West, and the mystic stories of the Saints in the *Philokalia* (in Russian *Dobrotolubje*), are only two examples of the innumerable literary treasures which lie hidden in the libraries of the Eastern Church, and bear witness to the intense, poetically-coloured devotion of the Eastern monks to Christ. The abuses which appear in Eastern Monasticism, even as in Western, are no evidence against the beneficent character which in the main attaches to it. Johannes Climacus has expressed this beneficent character, though in language of some exaggeration, when he says, 'The community of the monks is the light of all men' (*φῶς πάντων ἀνθρώπων μοναδικὴ πολιτεία*).[108]

The Eastern Church, as we have seen, is a spiritual Church (*πνευματικὴ ἐκκλησία*). It bears the honourable title 'Catholic' by a three-fold right, for it is catholic, *i.e.* universal,

in a spatial and temporal sense, and also in regard to what it stands for. It embraces Orthodox Christians throughout the world (*καθ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν*); it stands in unbroken continuity with the Primitive Church; and finally, both in dogma and cultus, it gives expression to 'the Fullness of Christ,' the *πλήρωμα Χριστοῦ*. The manifold light-rays which, outside the Orthodox Church, appear only separately, are in it, so to speak, focussed upon one point.[109] And since it is in possession of this fullness of truth and love, it feels itself able, in the fine phrase of Cyril of Jerusalem, 'to teach, to heal, and to care for men in catholic fashion' (*καθολικῶς διδάσκειν, ἰατρεύειν καὶ θεραπεύειν*).[110] But in spite of this consciousness the Eastern Church is (to-day, at least) free from the exclusiveness of the Roman Church.[111] It gladly recognizes, as Professor Karsawin has shown, that other Churches represent aspects of Christian truth which have their rights. In the separate paths taken by the various Churches it sees a process of 'individualization and specification' of a partial truth, which

is occasioned by some 'deformation' of the Orthodox Church: 'the Church in its empirical imperfection must share the guilt of those who have torn the unity of the Church asunder.'[112] The co-operation in active work with the Protestant Churches, the foundations of which were laid by the Eastern Church at the Stockholm Conference, is a proof of the truly Catholic broad-mindedness with which the 'Orthodox' Church, despite her inviolable fidelity to the complete Christian tradition, reaches out a hand to the Christian Churches which are outwardly separated from her.

In spite of its firm catholicity, the Eastern Church has always shown a certain flexibility in adapting itself to various nationalities. Its other-worldliness and supra-political status does not hinder it from showing a tender consideration for the national bent of various peoples. All the Oriental Churches are autocephalous national Churches, indissolubly bound up with the life of the individual nations. Thus in the Eastern Churches almost everywhere the language of the country

is used in the services (though in some cases in an archaic form). The fact that the language of the Church is, at least to some extent, intelligible to the people, makes it possible for them, from early youth, to make the liturgy an intimate part of their lives. It is not, of course, to be overlooked that the dependence of the Eastern Church on the organization of the State, especially in the Russia of the Tsars, has often tended to cramp its catholicity. The connection of the Churches with the secular authorities has, down to the present day, prevented the Churches of the East from uniting in a General Council. If the Orthodox Churches possessed, say in the Patriarch of Jerusalem, a Primate standing above all the individual Churches, it would be possible for them to make their catholicity manifest, and to meet by united action the perils and difficulties with which Eastern Christianity is confronted.

As we have seen, the Eastern Church is a universal Church with splendid gifts and treasures. It is, moreover, the imperishable glory of this Church to have preserved unim-

paired throughout the centuries the treasures of ancient Greek Christianity. But the most precious of all its treasures is the Eucharistic Liturgy. The liturgies of the Eastern Church are, after the Holy Scriptures, among the most important monuments of the Christian faith. It is, however, an error to assume that the Eastern Church is nothing more than a venerable temple, not to say a museum, enshrining treasures which have lost their living importance. Although certain of its branches (like the Abyssinian, the Coptic, and the Syrian Church in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiyah) may in the course of centuries have withered and become overlaid with superstition, the picture of the 'petrified' Church of the East exists only in the imagination of Western theorists. Under the elaboration and gorgeousness of the outward forms there lives a strong and fervent religious life of an other-worldly type. And this religious life has lately, in Russia and in Armenia, undergone the ordeal by fire and proved that it possesses the strength which overcomes death. The Church of liturgy and tradition, as the

Eastern Church claims to be, is also the Church of the Spirit and the Church of the Martyrs.

If we seek to trace what in particular are the influences derived from Primitive Christianity which are alive in the Eastern Church, we find that it is especially the Johannine Christianity which survives in it as its inmost soul. Modern New Testament scholarship has helped us to a better understanding of the special characteristics of the Fourth Gospel; but we should understand it better still if we studied more diligently the Eastern Church and its literature. The fundamental ideas of the Fourth Gospel have remained the motive forces of Eastern Christianity down to the present day. Even in the pictorial presentation of Christ which is characteristic of the Eastern Church, we recognize the Christ-figure of the Johannine Gospel—the Eternal Logos who makes known His timeless being on the majestic words, 'Before Abraham was, I am' (Joh. viii. 58). And this Eternal Christ has become flesh and tabernacled among men, and they that are born of God have been able to see Him with their eyes and handle Him

with their hands (Joh. i. 14; 1 Joh. i. 1). The Incarnation-motive which St. John announces in the Prologue to his Gospel and in the opening of his First Epistle is audible through the whole of Eastern theology, and becomes most manifest in the sacramental liturgy. And just as for the Fourth Evangelist the Resurrection is a present, not merely a future blessing of salvation—'whosoever believeth on me *hath* eternal life and is passed over from death into life' (Joh. v. 24)—so the Eastern Church untiringly proclaims that through Christ's Resurrection death has been already overcome, the whole Cosmos renewed, and, by the glory (δόξα) of the living Christ, has been gloriously transfigured. And just as the Eastern Church is the sacramental Church which mediates the Divine life and Divine power through mystic symbols, above all through the Eucharistic elements, so, among the Gospels, the Fourth is the Sacramental Gospel. The great discourses of the Bread of Life and the Vine and the Branches touch the great mystery of the Eucharist reverently, under a veil of symbolism. And the allegory

of the water and blood which flowed from the side of the dying Christ (Joh. xix. 34) finely illustrates the thought that through the channels of the Sacraments the saving grace of Christ flows from His Cross into Christian hearts. It was reserved for the Fourth Evangelist to record the 'that all may be one' of the High-Priestly prayer, and to him, who had leant on the breast of Christ, it was vouchsafed to interpret the mystery that love is the badge of the true disciples of Christ. It was not by chance that at the Stockholm Conference it was the representatives of the Eastern Church who echoed these Johannine notes most fervently.

And just as the Eastern Church has taken up the other main *motifs* of the Johannine religious spirit, so too it shares the peculiarly static character of that Gospel. The tremendous dynamic of the eschatological idea which the Synoptics display upon every page is foreign to Johannine Christianity. And equally foreign to it is that character of moving historic drama which is presented by the Pauline picture of Christ. The pictures of

Christ which we find over the apse in Byzantine churches, full as they are of majestic calm and immobility, but with a certain characteristic reverentially-intended stiffness, admirably symbolize the static character of the Johannine conception of Christ. A spell, as it were, falls upon us as we gaze on the light-flooded figure that seems to radiate the calm of the Eternal Logos, and we hear the majestic accents of His Kingly utterance, 'I am the Light of the World' (John ix. 5).

CHAPTER III

THE ROMAN CHURCH

THE static mysticism of Johannine Christianity lays its unfailing spell upon Christian believers; and yet it is but one form of New-Testament Christianity, and needs to be supplemented by other forms. Similarly, the Eastern Church is only one type of Church among others, which, in their turn, bring into prominence other aspects of the Christian faith. Western Christianity was originally entirely under Greek influence; in Justin Martyr's day Greek was still the liturgical language in Rome. But gradually Western Christianity took a wholly independent line of development. Originally, no doubt, the Western Church showed the same multiplicity as the Eastern. As, there, Greeks and Syrians, Armenians and Georgians, Copts and Slavs, gave to Christianity their own characteristic

stamp, so, here, there was a Roman and an African, a Gallic and a Spanish, an Anglo-Saxon and an Irish Christianity. But very soon certain general distinguishing characteristics became manifest throughout the whole of the Western Church. The fundamental ideas with which Western religious life was occupied, were not, as in the East, Transience and Immortality, Death and Resurrection, but Sin and Grace, Law and Good Works. Western Christianity regarded God's revelation of redemption as consisting primarily in the forgiveness of sins, not, as Eastern Christianity did, in a transfiguration by which the mortal put on immortality. Accordingly Western religion had a much more strongly ethical temper than Eastern. The great Church teachers of the East, Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa, developed the doctrine of the deification of man; the great teachers of the West were *doctores gratiae*. St. Augustine places grace in the centre of his whole theology, and St. Thomas Aquinas sees the primary task of theology in the working out of the great harmony which subsists between Nature and

Grace: Grace does not abolish nature, but perfects it (*Gratia naturam non tollit, sed perficit*). The second peculiarity of Western Christianity consists in regarding the Church as the organ of the *Regnum Dei*, the visible Kingdom of God upon earth. *Regnum* is here a dynamic, active conception. 'Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands' (*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*) ran the cry of victory with which the Western Christians threw down the images of the Pagan gods. The world above invades the world below; between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the World there arises a tremendous struggle, but the City of God, the *Civitas Dei*, must prove victorious over all earthly powers. Closely connected with this belief in the visible manifestation of the Kingdom of God is the juridical, hierarchical conception of the Church which is characteristic not only of Roman but of Western Christianity in general. The Church is not only a community constituted by grace, but a community regulated by law. The conception of an episcopally ruled Church strictly

organized (though resting on a broad democratic basis) was formulated by St. Cyprian with a trenchancy which has never been surpassed. His aphorism, *scire debes episcopum in ecclesia esse et ecclesiam in episcopo* (Ep. 66, 8), could only have been formulated by a Western. It is true that the spiritual religion of St. Augustine softened, purified and spiritualized this hierarchical idea of the episcopate, and that St. Thomas Aquinas effected a remarkable synthesis of the spiritual and the juridical ideas of the Church, but the conception of the Church as necessary to salvation, in the sense of the Cyprianic *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, has never been lost in Western Christendom.

The Western episcopal organization had originally, like the Eastern, a local basis ; the Bishop was, in his own diocese, sovereign, responsible to no superior in his office, save Christ Himself. Gradually, however, all the powers of the Churches of the West became concentrated in the Roman Church. In the course of severe struggles the old system of local independence was gradually forced to make way for the Roman ' world-Church ' ;

Churches ruled by Bishops gave place to the Church ruled by a Pope. The old Western Churches of the various countries lost their former jurisdictional and liturgical independence and were forced to submit to the one exclusive juridical system, and the one, exclusive, liturgy of Rome. In a long-drawn-out process which took more than a thousand years to reach completeness, a new Church was formed, of a type foreign both to Primitive and to Early Christianity.

It was the Roman genius with its two watchwords, *jus et imperium*, which, with an extraordinary concentration of aim, carried the type to its full development. The Roman claims to domination found their basis of Scriptural authority in the passages of the Gospels relating to St. Peter. Even the Early Western Church—in contrast to the Eastern, which for the most part interpreted them spiritually—had given to these passages a specifically ecclesiastical interpretation. It saw in the passage about the founding of the Church on the Rock-Man the documentary basis of the Episcopal Church. Peter is the

prototype of all bishops, therefore every episcopal chair is a *cathedra Petri*. But the fact that the Roman bishops occupied the chair of St. Peter in a literal sense made it possible for them to give to the old Augustinian and Cyprianic interpretation of Jesus' sayings about Peter a papal application, and so to raise, upon this basis, the claim to the *plenitudo potestatis* and to demand submission to the 'Representative of Christ' as necessary to salvation—*porro subesse Romano pontifici omnino esse de necessitate salutis*.[113] The appeal to the Biblical archives, however, did not suffice to make good the claim to the oversight of the whole Church—*sollicitudo universalis ecclesiae*, for the *unanimis consensus patrum* was against the Roman exposition. Accordingly Rome had recourse to a series of forgeries, the importance of which in the development of the idea of the Primacy has received too little attention. And when even the device of forgery failed, there remained the weapon of excommunication. One of the historians of the Papacy writes of Innocent III., the great champion of the Papal claims, that

under his Pontificate 'there was hardly a Prince or a Ruler who was not excommunicated, hardly an important country which was not laid under an interdict.[114] The old Churches of the various countries did not succumb without a struggle, offering, indeed, the most obstinate opposition. Princes and Kings violently resisted the Papal claims, Councils opposed them and endeavoured to maintain the rights of the Episcopate. A strong current of opposition to the Papal claims to domination runs throughout the centuries. Nevertheless the local Churches had finally to admit defeat. The Vatican dogmas of the Primacy, universal Episcopacy, and Infallibility completed the gigantic, fifteen-hundred-years'-long process of the Romanization of Western Christendom; the *Codex Juris Canonici*, with its 2414 paragraphs, which are asserted to have 'eternal validity,' have converted these dogmas into a practical reality. Rome, however, conquered thus, not only because it pursued its aims with iron determination and ruthless severity, but also because Christianity itself felt the need of Ecclesiastical Unity, and

because Christendom itself demanded the sovereign freedom of the Church from all transient earthly Powers. Rome met an essential Christian need, though in a mistaken and anti-Christian way.

Thus the Roman Church is the great Church of Unity, although it attains this unity by way of Law and Force, of Compulsion and Uniformity. 'The Church is not a Credo, but an Impero' (*La chiesa non è un credo, la chiesa è un impero, una disciplina*)—this saying of one of the leading men in the Vatican of to-day says all that need be said. The Roman Church is in point of fact a great world-empire; as an institution it possesses tremendous power; the iron bond of its organization holds together securely all those parts which tend to fly asunder. But the strange thing is that the real wielder of this temporal power is not the infallible Pope, but the Curia. *Les papes changent, les bureaux restent*, as Paul Sabatier once expressed it.[115] It was no doubt powerful individual personalities who originally made the Papal claims to domination effective, but this claim then became traditional, and

independent of the person of the individual Pope. To-day the possessor of the *plenitudo potestatis* is powerless in face of the all-powerful Curia; the Pope is the 'Prisoner of the Vatican' in the fullest sense of the term. 'The Pope,' said a member of the Curia, 'is there to give benedictions, to sign documents and to grant audiences; the oversight of affairs lies in our hands.' 'What will my masters say?' (*che dirono i miei padroni?*), as Pius x. (a man who really deserved the title Saint) used to ask with a sigh, when the faithful came to him with requests or proposals. And Pius xi. remarked, in regard to the books of Joseph Wittig, about which there was so much controversy, 'I like these books very much, but it is not for me alone to decide about them.' And the books were put upon the Index, in spite of the fact that the Pope had liked them very much.

But behind the Curia there stands yet another mighty and mysterious power which invisibly directs the course of the Roman temporal power—the Jesuit Order. That Spanish military officer, Ignatius, adopted

with all the ardour of his knightly soul the conception of the Papal Imperium as a religious ideal, and created the correlated conception the *militia Papae*. Urban VIII. lauded the new order 'because it had dedicated itself wholly to the defence of the Papal power,'[116] but in reality this Order is not the servant of the Pope, but his ruler. The members of the Curia on the one hand, the Jesuits on the other, are the 'masters' (*padroni*) of the Pope; through him they rule. The 'Red Pope' and the 'Black Pope' are stronger than the 'White Pope.' Rome has two methods of bringing its tremendous power to bear: in the outside world by skilful diplomacy, within its own borders by brutal force. It courts and flatters the great ones of the earth, and confirms its influence by concordats with rulers and governments. It courts the Eastern Churches, while at the same time it is even now using their external troubles to bring them into subjection to the Papacy. The Russian Professor Glubokowski, at the Stockholm Conference, protested in moving words against this kind of propaganda on the part of the

Roman Church. The Roman Apologetic courts Protestants also, assuming a cloak of liberty of thought and modernity, and holding up before their eyes the beauty, freedom, and beneficent power of the Roman Church. 'I lead all men in by *their* door, and out by mine,' said Ignatius Loyola once in a characteristic utterance. On one occasion, when I was giving an address to an association of Protestant theological students in the University of Leipzig, a Jesuit suddenly came forward, and, possessing an admirable and most comprehensive knowledge of Protestant theology, painted the Roman Church in amazingly evangelical colours, representing matters as if there was no serious difference between the Roman and the Protestant conception of Christianity.

But that is only the outward side. Within, Rome wages ruthless war against any independent movement which seems in any way to endanger the Roman system of authority. By a world-wide system of espionage and denunciation, Rome keeps watch upon all movements within the Church. In every

hole and corner there are secret watchers listening and spying, who carry to their superiors a report of any utterance which has about it a suggestion of freedom. Wherever modern political ideas, free scientific investigation, or evangelical piety, shows itself in the bosom of the Catholic Church, there ecclesiastical censure ruthlessly descends. Even events of the most recent times show this clearly. The placing on the Index of five works of the Breslau theologian and popular writer, Joseph Wittig, must have opened in painful fashion the eyes of all who cherish the hope of Rome's turning to toleration. This case of placing on the Index is still more serious than that of Herman Schell, some twenty years ago. For the blow at Joseph Wittig strikes the whole Catholic Youth movement, which honours him as its spiritual founder. The nervous efforts to smooth over the matter made by some well-known and important Catholics (like Dr. Sonnenschein and P. Erich Przywara, S.J.) show unmistakably how keenly the freer Catholic circles of Germany resented this Draconian sentence.

Another recent occurrence, which has attracted little attention, throws light upon the position at the Vatican. The venerable Paul Maria Baumgarten, who for many years had served the Vatican faithfully, was deprived of his offices and dignities, for no other reason than that, as a conscientious historical scholar, he had, in his writings about Bellarmine, brought to light things which were prejudicial to the Jesuits' attempt to procure the beatification of that theologian. A similar ruthlessness appears in Rome's oppressive treatment of the Eastern Churches which have united with her, as may be seen from the moving protests of the Greek Uniate Baroness Uxküll against the forcible Latinization applied to them (especially by the Jesuits).[117] The lot of the Latinized Easterns is indeed an eloquent reminder of the fate which would await the Eastern Church if it ever bowed beneath the yoke of Rome.

Rome—that is to say, that dread power of the Curia and the Jesuits which stands behind the often personally excellent Popes—aims determinedly at domination, domination both

over the souls of men and over the world. Not the Glory of God, nor the salvation of souls, nor love to the brethren, but power and prestige—'the prestige of the Apostolic See,' as the Curialists are wont to say—is Rome's ultimate aim. The picture of the Grand Inquisitor which Dostoievski has drawn, is a transcript from reality.

In this aspect, then, Rome is the Church of iron law, of ruthless power, of world dominion. But to grasp that is not to understand her soul. The essential point is that the Roman Church is the Roman *Catholic* Church; in the Roman body, not to say beneath the Roman armour, there beats a Catholic heart; a Catholic heart languishes in the prison-house of the Roman potentates. But it would be no greater error to judge the prisoner by his jailor than to judge the Roman Church by those who hold it in thrall. The Catholic idea has never died out in the Roman Church, the Catholic soul is immortal, in spite of the efforts of those who would betray it to Antichrist. Even the very period when Rome was at the climax of her earthly power was a

period in which Catholic thought bore a rich harvest. It was 'the golden period of the Middle Ages'—the thirteenth century—when Francis of Assisi preached, when Thomas of Aquino thought, when Dante Alighieri saw his visions. But even the degeneration which marked the close of the Middle Ages, and the Confessional narrowing, *i.e.* the anti-Protestant intensification of Roman Catholicism in the Post-Tridentine centuries, could not entirely kill the Catholic idea. The spirit of Augustine and Aquinas, of the 'Poverello' of Assisi and of Catherine of Siena, has not died out of the Roman Church. A company of remarkable figures in later and recent Catholicism—Bishop Sailer and Clemens Maria Hofbauer, Möhler of Tübingen and Cardinal Newman, Herman Schell and George Tyrrell, Abbé Huvelin and Friedrich von Hügel, Abbot Ildefons Herwegen and Romano Guardini—all these men bear witness to the imperishable strength of the Catholic idea in the Church of Rome. New streams of life are constantly breaking forth from her bosom: the Catholic Reform movement, the Liturgical movement, the Social

movement of Marc Sagnier, the Catholic Youth movement of Quickborn, and other groups. All these prove that the Catholic soul continues to live within the Roman Hierarchic Church.

This Roman Catholic soul is in many respects akin to the soul of the Eastern Church. In it, too, Christ-mysticism and personal piety form the core of the cultus. But over against the uniformity of the Eastern idea of Christ, Western devotion to Christ takes a multitude of different forms. The mere comparison of the pictures of Christ drawn by Eastern and Western art shows this difference clearly enough. In Western mysticism there are three passages of Christ's life which are specially emphasized : the Babe in the Manger, the Sufferer on the Cross, and the Heavenly King—*Rex regum et dominus dominantium*. Divine humility, Divine suffering, Divine rule—within the circle of these ideas move the whole art and poetry of Western devotion to Christ. But the centre of all is the Cross : *Vexilla regis prodeunt, fulget crucis mysterium—O crux ave, spes unica.* And this mystery of

the Cross, of Christ's suffering and dying in our stead, is for Western piety made visible and tangible upon the altar. The Sacrifice of the Mass is the bloodless renewal of the sacrificial death of Christ, and therefore the focus of all the tender emotions of the Passion-mysticism. It is a real active suffering and dying with the suffering and dying Christ. Here everything is much more realistically conceived than in the Eastern Church; as is, indeed, implied by the principal technical term of Roman sacramental doctrine—*opus operatum*—a term which is foreign to the more spiritual sacramental conception of the Eastern Church. Nevertheless the realistic sacramental piety of the West is not less fervent than the spiritualistic sacramental piety of the East. Indeed, sacramental mysticism has flowered more richly in the Western than in the Eastern Church. It is in the Western Church that frequent or even daily Communion has found a home. It is the great achievement of the 'Eucharistic Pope,' Pius x., to have made this devotional practice, sprung from medieval Christ-mysticism, the common

possession of the Roman Church throughout the world.

It is the Roman Catholic Church, too, in contradistinction to the Eastern, which, from the thirteenth century onwards, has ever more zealously practised, and more elaborately developed, the cult of the Reserved Eucharist. The Host preserved in the 'Tabernacle' is the outward pledge of the abiding presence of Christ, the literal fulfilment of Jesus' promise, 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.' Although this adoration of the Reserved Eucharist was not practised in the Early Church, it is one of the deepest and most precious forms of devotion which have been bestowed upon later Christianity; the high-souled and large-hearted religious thinker, Friedrich von Hügel, who himself deeply loved to practise it, truly says of it that it 'has made saints, great saints.'

In the zealous practice of the Eucharistic devotion is revealed at its purest the *vita contemplativa* of Roman Catholic Christianity. But with this contemplative piety there goes also an intense *vita activa*. The idea of the

Regnum Dei demands of the Christian that he should strive with all his might to prepare the way for the Reign of God upon earth. In contradistinction to the statically contemplative Christianity of the East, Roman Catholic Christianity is dynamically active; its ideal is the Apostolate of Action. There are three main spheres within which Roman Christianity develops its activity — theological scholarship, social work, and the mission to the heathen. Whereas the theology of the Eastern Church seeks to penetrate the Christological mystery by the method of contemplation, Roman Catholicism strives to effect a synthesis between the Christian truths of revelation and the whole of the intellectual life; it seeks to apply the axiom *gratia praesupponit naturam* in all branches of human life. It was on this principle that medieval Catholicism founded its two mighty intellectual edifices, the *Summa Theologiae* of the 'Doctor Angelicus,' and the *Divina Commedia* of the great Florentine. This world and the next, Heaven and earth, religion and morality, Church and State—all are comprehended in a

higher unity. And, alongside of this gigantic achievement of theological thinking, Western Catholicism can claim another gigantic achievement in the sphere of philanthropy. The great saints of the West have been also heralds of charity. The traditional saying of Jesus preserved by Tertullian, 'When thou seest thy brother, thou seest thy Lord' (*Vidisti fratrem tuum, vidisti Dominum tuum*), which finds an echo in St. Benedict, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Vincent de Paul, reveals to us the secret of that work of love which the Roman Catholic Church has engaged in through all the centuries down to the present day.

Finally, the Roman Church can boast a world-wide missionary activity which has no equal. While the Eastern Church was early forced by the advance of Islam into a defensive attitude, the Western Church has never ceased to carry on a missionary offensive against the non-Christian religions. Even the medieval Church achieved great things in the conversion of heathen nations, but the great development of Roman missions belongs to the Post-

Tridentine period. To-day the *propaganda fidei* embraces all quarters of the world, and, through a mighty army of messengers of the faith, labours for the bringing-in of those who are outside 'the sole true salvation-bringing institution.'

This dualism of the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa*, which is the characteristic mark of Western Christianity, is most clearly seen in the Monasticism of the Roman Church. No doubt the purely contemplative Orders have an important function, the significance of which is not always recognized, in the life of the Church as a whole; but the distinguishing mark of by far the greatest number of Western monastic orders is their working amid the world. And the dynamic activity of Roman monasticism is the explanation also of its extraordinary multiformity, which offers as complete a contrast to the uniformity of the Antonine and Basilian monasticism in the Eastern Church as the variety of the Western pictorial representations of Christ does to the uniformity of the Eastern conception.

A similar impulse towards activity and

many-sidedness distinguishes the Western mysticism from the Eastern. In the Eastern, the gaze of the mystic is directed wholly towards the Divine, and towards the supra-personal fellowship of the Church; the significance of the individual disappears. Western religious life is much more concerned with the relation between God and the individual soul —*Deus et anima*—and therefore the individual is able to develop more fully the specific content of his individuality.

Thus the Eastern Church shows a greater spirituality, contemplativeness, and other-worldliness, the Western Church a stronger objectivity, activity, and adaptation to the world. If the Eastern Church may be called the Johannine, the Roman is the Petrine Church. The Roman Church sees in St. Peter the Prince of the Apostles; he was undoubtedly the leader of the Primitive Church in Jerusalem; and he even before long became a centre for the formation of parties in Hellenistic Christianity, as the Cephas-party in Corinth shows. The Gospel of St. Matthew is the great basic document of

Petrine Christianity ; it is this Gospel in particular which tells us of sayings of Jesus which gives Cephas a position of peculiar honour as the foundation-stone of the Church and the bearer of plenipotentiary powers. But in spite of this exaltation of St. Peter, the author of St. Matthew's Gospel does not conceal his fall ; the Rock-Apostle was that one of the disciples who fell most deeply, denying his Lord with an oath. And even after he had been 'converted' and taken up again with his Lord's fellowship of love, he did not remain immaculate. St. Paul had to rebuke him sharply for his narrow legalism and his want of charity towards the Gentile Christians. This picture of St. Peter which the New Testament Scriptures paint for us, is not flawless ; there have, however, come down to us under his name two documents which breathe unmistakably the spirit of a Pauline Christ-mysticism not bound by the fetters of the law. Indeed, the First Epistle contains two of the most outstanding sayings in regard to the Church of the Spirit : that about the House of God of which believers are the living stones,

and that about the royal priesthood of believers (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9). This Peter of the—pseudonymous—Petrine Epistles is as appropriate a symbol for the evangelical inwardness of the Roman Church as the Peter of history is for the legalism of the Roman hierarchical organization, and for that denial of the Lord the sin of which his 'representatives' in the Roman see have shared down through the centuries. And the best and most saintly sons of the Roman Church hope for the day when these—like Peter—will repent of their great sin, and, like him, answer the Lord's question with the humble words, 'Lord; thou knowest that I love thee' (John xxi. 15 ff.).

CHAPTER IV

THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES

Alongside the Eastern, Johannine, and the Roman, Petrine, types of Christianity, there stands out as a third main type the Protestant, Pauline. St. Paul knows himself to have been chosen and sent forth directly by God, not by 'flesh and blood,' *i.e.* that he had not received his Gospel by Church tradition but by the immediate calling of the Holy Spirit (Gal. i.). He completed the breach between Christianity and the Jewish law, from which the Petrine Primitive Church had not yet fully emancipated itself; he preached the Gospel of the Faith which saves apart from the works of the Law; he is also the Apostle of liberty, who addresses to his Gentile Christians the lofty exhortation, 'Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again

in the yoke of bondage' (Gal. v. 1). And although he sought the fellowship of the 'Pillars' of the Primitive Church, and associated with them, and so maintained continuity with the historical Jesus and the original Apostles, he did not shrink from uncompromising opposition to them, or from calling the 'Prince of the Apostles' to account.

In all this St. Paul is the first herald of free, evangelical Christianity. No doubt he had in reality even more importance for the genesis of the Catholic universal Church than the Jewish-Christian Cephas; it was he, not Cephas, who first proclaimed the Catholic principle, 'all things to all men' (1 Cor. ix. 19 ff.). But it has also been he who again and again has aroused powerful opposition to traditionalism in the Church. And the greatest of Pauline awakenings in the history of Christendom was the Reformation of the sixteenth century; the greatest follower of the Apostle, the man who most powerfully proclaimed the Pauline Gospel with its freedom from the Law, was Martin Luther. The Roman Church cast him out as an 'innovator'

and 'heretic,' and condemned his teaching as a 'plague' and 'pestilence.' But he had, like St. Paul, a direct Divine Commission. It was his to experience and proclaim what no other of the great Christian teachers of East or West had ever seen with the same clearness or declared with the same impressiveness—the ineffable miracle which lies in the fact that the sinner is justified—*peccator justus*—that the Divine salvation is bestowed *sola gratia* and received *sola fide*. Luther's experience of God was a new revelation of God. That which human tradition had darkened and human abuses distorted, the revelation of God's grace alone as the effective agent in salvation, shone out with unexampled clearness in the mind of this champion of God. The miracle of the Divine mercy and loving-kindness was patent to his eyes. God's wrath smites with His judgment every one who takes upon him by his own strength—whether of thought or deed—to penetrate His secret. But wrath and judgment are for God only an *opus alienum*, his inmost being is 'pure love and mercy'; He is an abyss, a

sea, of love. And this love freely condescends to man, takes lowly, simple human forms to allow him to grasp and comprehend it—the Babe of Bethlehem, the Sufferer on the Cross. God bestows on us grace, forgiveness, and blessedness without any contributory action on man's part. Man needs only to grasp, in trustful confidence, God's outstretched hand. The 'act of faith' justifies and brings peace to the terrified conscience; nay, it gives to the trembling slave of sin a kingly consciousness of salvation. That which the theologians and Popes of the Middle Ages had so tabooed—the assurance of salvation in the consciousness of the redeemed—became for Luther the heart and core of the Christian Faith. It was not through some special revelation that this assurance was bestowed upon the recipients of God's mercy—that, the Roman Church also recognized—no, it was God's word that cannot lie and His inviolable promise of mercy which gave to every soul of man that believes, this assurance—and, with it, Heaven upon earth. Moreover, the redeemed man knows himself to be

not only forensically justified, but renewed, sanctified and deified, for he has become one with Christ in a *unio substantialissima*. As the outcome of this assurance and blessedness and this union with Christ, the redeemed man does the works of Christ in showing love to the brethren. It is of no use to do good works as a way of attaining Heaven; on the contrary, a man must already possess Heaven before he can do good works. What faith has received from God, love passes on to the brethren. Man can never repay to God His saving grace, but by serving his suffering and needy brethren he can serve and show gratitude to Him. Thus faith and love are parts of one process, as indissolubly connected as burning and giving light. Or, in more homely metaphor, man is like a tube which takes in water at the top and allows it to flow out at the bottom.

The message which makes known this Divine miracle is the Gospel; this message is the core and kernel of the whole Scripture, it is 'the word within the word.' And these 'good tidings' are set forth not only in the

spoken and written word, but also in the symbolic language of the sacramental act: the sacrament is the 'visible word,' the seal affixed to the Divine bond which promises His grace. Where the Gospel is preached and the Sacrament dispensed, there is the Church; and where the Divine promise of grace is confidently believed and its fulfilment thankfully experienced, then God's Kingdom has begun to be. In comparison with this 'one thing needful,' the good tidings of God and the faith which worketh by love, all else sinks into insignificance. By this sole touchstone all things must be tried—tradition, forms of worship and Church order. Luther did not desire to found a new Church—as late as 1519 he warns men against withdrawing their loyalty even from a degenerate Church—he desired only that in the old Church the Gospel of the Divine miracle of grace should be preached. But the Roman Church failed to recognize his prophetic mission and pronounced him anathema. Accordingly Luther was forced to the belief that there was no possibility of preaching the good tidings

within her borders. Luther did not declare the Pope to be Antichrist on the ground that many Popes have lived a vicious life, irreconcilable with the following of Jesus, but wholly and solely because the Pope forbade the preaching of the *gratia sola*. When Luther, to his own distress, was cast out of the Old Church, he was forced, against his will, hastily to build up out of fragments of the old a provisional structure to meet present needs. But Luther was a prophet, and neither a cathedral-builder nor a Church organizer. And so, in order to meet the need of the moment, he took, in his innocency and his over-strong nationalism, the disastrous step of binding up his new Church with the State and its rulers. Thus there arose that unhappy form of Church organization, the inheritance of which is proving a fatal handicap to the German Protestantism of to-day.

But it should be clearly realized that Luther desired to remain 'Catholic.' The principle *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* retained its validity for the Reformers; nay, this defiant champion of liberty hymned with a pure and unmixed

fervour the ' Mother Church, which through the word of God conceives and bears us all.' But the ' one holy Catholic Church ' to which his love was given, was to be built up, not like the Roman, upon the uniformity of outward forms and institutions, but upon pure evangelical doctrine.

Still more strongly does this desire for catholicity show itself in the second prophet of the Reformation, John Calvin. He, too, perceived certain Christian truths with a brilliant clearness and proclaimed them with an enthusiasm unequalled by any previous religious teacher of the West, the truths of the *Gloria Dei* and the *Regnum Dei*. God's purpose is to reign over the whole world, all things are to be made subservient to His will; and this is not to be postponed to a final Apocalyptic Kingdom, but to take place in the present. The Kingdom of God is not an exclusively eschatological entity, but a factor in present world-history. The instrument by which God's reign is to be set up is the People of God, the community of the Elect. Since the community of the saints

is the organ of the theocracy it must be devoured with zeal for God's Law. It was with this prophetic zeal that Calvin set up his theocratic state in Geneva. But he was not content with creating an ideal Christian state in the midst of the sinful world; the whole world must itself become a theocracy. In order to realize his theocratic ideal Calvin laboured untiringly for the union into one body of all the Protestant Churches. Out of Calvin's ardent zeal for the Kingdom of God was born the thought of a united 'World-Protestantism' or 'Protestant Catholicity.' This catholicity of his which surpassed in dynamic force the medieval catholicity with its subtle harmonizing, was, of course, hampered by his fanatical puritanism, which endeavoured to destroy, root and branch, not only all the treasures of the cultus, but also all Church tradition of every kind. In his extreme Biblicism Calvin sees everywhere dangers threatening the purity of the Word of God. He therefore made a breach with the historical continuity of the Christian Church in order to get back by a desperate leap—a *salto*

mortale—to the pristine purity of the Jewish theocracy and the Early Christian Church.

In this way Calvin is, at one and the same time, a Catholic and a Puritan. The strong Catholic trait in him is no doubt often forgotten by his followers. It is the merit of the Catholic historian of the Reformation, Imbart de la Tour, to have recalled to memory Calvin's impressive Catholicity, though in doing so he has unduly depreciated his fellow-reformer Luther.[118]

Thus the Churches which arose out of the Reforming activity of these prophets were originally Catholic Churches. Alongside of Orthodox and Roman Catholicism there takes its place as a third legitimate member of the Catholic World-Church an Evangelical Catholicism. And the strength with which this Evangelical Catholicism made headway against Rome was due not only to its evangelical purity, but to its purpose of Catholicity. This Catholicity, however, became in course of time gradually weakened. In the Lutheran Churches much inherited doctrinal and liturgical material has been retained, and in

the Scandinavian Churches also the episcopal organization. But the controversy with the revived Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation, and still more the tidal wave of Rationalism which swept over the whole of Protestantism, and even now has not wholly ebbed away, brought about a progressive process of de-Catholicization. Indeed, later Protestantism came to make the eradication of the Catholic elements of the still half-Catholic earlier Protestantism one of the main points in its programme.[119] The consequence was that the word 'Catholic,' which in the Reformation period had been still an honourable designation and one quite naturally applied to the Evangelical Churches, fell into bad repute. The German expression of annoyance, 'It 's enough to make one turn Catholic,' shows how Catholicism had become a veritable *bête noire*. The elements inherited from Catholicism which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused no offence in any quarter, became in later Lutheranism more and more an object of suspicion and dislike.

The Calvinistic Church, for its part, had at the outset deliberately thrown overboard everything belonging to the Early Church, its episcopal organization, liturgy, and cultus. And even that tendency in Calvin which was Catholic, his great conception of a universal Protestant Church, was soon abandoned by his successors. In Calvinism as in Lutheranism, there developed a religious individualism to which the majestic conception of the Church was foreign. And this diminution or loss of Catholicity proved in time profoundly prejudicial also to the evangelical character of the Church. Liberalism—whether rationalistic, as in the period of Illuminism, romantic, as in Schleiermacher, or historical, as in modern Protestant theology—always signifies a weakening of the Gospel of God's revelation of love in the Incarnate, Crucified, and Risen Christ. Nor can this full and pure Gospel be recovered by taking refuge in the other extreme of Protestantism. The so-called 'dialectic' theology (Barth, Gogarten, Brunner) is merely a morbid phenomenon of reaction, not a revival of genuinely evan-

gelical Christianity, not even of the Calvinistic form of it, much less the Lutheran. For this theology cuts out the heart of Christianity, the belief in the Incarnation—*finitum capax est infiniti*—and breaks the very nerve of Lutheranism, its assurance of salvation. 'Dialectic' theology is but one more proof that without Catholicity no evangelical Christianity is possible, and all mere 'Protestantism' must remain negative and sterile.

The renaissance of evangelical Christianity is to be sought neither in modern Liberalism nor in its antithesis, the 'catastrophic' theology of the 'dialectic' theologians, but in the revival of the Catholic spirit. And, in point of fact, the Catholic spirit (which is not to be confused with the Roman Catholic) has for the last hundred years been engaged in reconquering the Reformation Churches. The Anglican Church, which of all the Protestant Churches has retained the closest connection with the Old Church, made the beginning. Ninety years ago the 'Catholic Movement' in the Church of England embraced only a small and diminishing com-

pany of adherents. To-day there has arisen, out of the Oxford Movement, which aimed at the recovery of the full Catholic tradition, the mighty movement known as the Anglo-Catholic. Nearly one half of the members of the Anglican Church think of themselves as Catholics, not Protestants. That does not, of course, mean that they wish to surrender the blessings of the Reformation—the 'Roman Fever' which attacked some of them may be a transient phenomenon—but they are convinced that the Reformation only accomplished half its task, and that its work as a great reaction against the abuses of Roman Catholicism needs to be supplemented by a comprehensive re-Catholicizing movement. Anglo-Catholicism is one of the most hopeful and fruitful movements in the Western Church of the present day. For it is in process of overcoming the one-sidedness which is the besetting weakness of Protestantism on its ecclesiastical side, and of preparing the way for an ideal synthesis of Catholic and Evangelical piety. Out of the Anglican Church has arisen the great movement in

the direction of unity, which aims at the reconciliation of the Anglican Mother Church with the Free Churches which have gone forth from her bosom, and, ultimately, the reunion of all Christian Churches. This Anglo-Catholic movement has in recent years extended its influence to the Swedish Church. In Germany there are visible weak but promising beginnings in this direction in the 'High-Church Union' (*Hochkirchliche Vereinigung*) and the High-Church Ecumenical League (*Hochkirchlich-ökumenischer Bund*).

Tendencies in the direction of Catholicity are moreover alive to-day in quarters where all reform movements of a High-Church character are expressly repudiated. A deeply Catholic spirit is alive in the French Huguenot Church, as exemplified in Paul Sabatier, the enthusiastic disciple of St. Francis of Assisi, and Wilfred Monod, the enthusiastic founder of a modern Franciscan Lay Order. This Catholic spirit has also produced the great movement which under the watchword 'Life and Work' seeks to unite Christians of all Communions without regard to differences

in dogma or ecclesiastical polity. The Stockholm World-Conference (which owes its origin to two theologians, one Reformed and one Lutheran, MacFarland and Söderblom) is a first milestone on the road to the active co-operation of all the Churches in practical work. Protestant Christianity is on the threshold of a new era, for it has regained the consciousness, which it possessed in its beginnings, of being a true and lawful member in the body of the One Catholic Church. And this Catholic consciousness and movement towards fuller Catholicity is bound to prove stronger than the negative Protestant tendencies as exemplified in modern rationalism or in the 'dialectic' theology mistakenly extolled as a return to the dogmatic of the early Reformation.

CHAPTER V

'DIVERSITIES OF GIFTS' AND THE SPIRIT OF UNITY

THUS the great tree of the One Universal Church has three mighty branches: the Orthodox Church of the East, proud of its rich inheritance from Early Christianity; the Roman Catholic Church, which in spite of all blemishes is full of strength both outward and inward; and the Evangelical-Catholic, which in spite of its one-sided Protestant tendency is in its essential nature pure and richly dowered. In their differences and in their common bond they are like the three Apostles, each of whom received from the Lord his special gift of grace: St. Peter the Rock-Man and Bearer of the Keys, St. Paul the herald of the Gospel, and St. John, who, leaning on his Master's breast, was privileged to learn His secret. And as these three gave each other the right hand of fellowship, so must the three great

Churches discover their unity of faith and love. But just as the brotherly fellowship of the Apostles did not imply the abrogation of their differing characteristics, so the union of the Christian Churches must not set before it as its aim the destruction of what is peculiar to each. Nothing is more foolish than the constantly repeated assertion that the advocates of an Ecumenical Christianity are seeking to produce a mongrel and characterless Church. Both the 'Faith and Order' and the 'Life and Work' movements aim only at uniting the Churches in a way which will preserve with the most scrupulous care the valuable individual characteristics of each, mindful of the words of the Apostle, 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit' (1 Cor. xii. 4). Since in spite of all differences one Spirit is to animate the Churches, therefore the attitude of antagonism must disappear. Each must learn from the others, not in order to surrender its own individuality, but with a view to recognizing its own imperfections and its need of having them supplemented, and to overcoming its one-

sidedness and exclusiveness. Between the Eastern and the Evangelical Churches the way for this spiritual exchange has already been prepared. The Eastern Church has opened its doors to an evangelical revival as well as to evangelical theology, it has begun to circulate the Bible among the people; and it has united with the Reformation Churches in practical work. At the Stockholm World-Conference the venerable Patriarch Photius declared amid the rejoicing of the whole assembly, that the Eastern Churches had now found a point of attachment with those of the Reformation. Between the Roman and the Evangelical Churches there is up to the present no official connection; but the unofficial spiritual exchange is all the stronger. By unseen channels Evangelical piety and Evangelical theology find their way into Roman Catholicism; and, conversely, Protestant spiritual life can no longer remain unaffected by the influence of the great spiritual movements within the Roman Church. This inward and spiritual exchange must be further extended, for the different Churches

need one another. The Eastern Church needs the ethical activity of Western Catholicism and Protestantism; and, conversely, Western Catholicism, as a Benedictine monk of the monastery of Maria Laach has himself said, needs the other-worldliness and spirituality of the Eastern Church; and it certainly needs the strength of faith and the freedom of Evangelical Christianity. Similarly, Protestantism needs to get back into the stream of Catholic tradition which has flowed down through Eastern and Western Catholicism, and a revival of the living power of the Christ-mysticism which has made its home in the Catholic Churches. Such a mutual exchange can only have a beneficial influence on the development of the true individuality of each of the Churches. And it will gradually prepare the way for a union of faith which will preserve inviolate the doctrinal, liturgical, and institutional characteristics peculiar to each.

In connection with this spiritual exchange between Orthodox, Roman, and Evangelical Christianity, special importance must be attri-

buted not only to the Anglican, but also to the Old-Catholic Church, as represented by its ideal leader, Bishop Eduard Herzog. It stands in close contact with each of the three other Churches—with the Roman, from which it is derived, and from which it received its liturgy; with the Orthodox, which it resembles in two respects, first in holding fast to the tradition of the undivided Church of the first five centuries, and secondly, in its adaptation to the various nationalities and countries; and finally, with the Reformation Churches, from which it has taken over the free use of the Scriptures, the use of hymns in public worship, and its democratic organization. It bears the Evangelical treasure in stately Catholic vessels. And therefore it is called to be a link of connection between East and West, between Rome and Wittenberg, between Jerusalem and Geneva. This providentially allotted task is its great privilege; and if in its numerical weakness it is outwardly unimposing, it must draw encouragement from the words of the Apostle, 'Those members of the body, which seem to be

the more feeble, are necessary' (1 Cor. xii. 22).

But still more important for the unity of the Church than all such exchange and mutual understanding is love to Christ. One of Bishop Eduard Herzog's favourite sayings was the aphorism of the Church Father which we quoted at the outset, 'Wheresoever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church.' The love to Christ of Sundar Singh removed all barriers of separation and made him a leader and spiritual counsellor among all Christian Communions. Love to Christ and His Cross was the purifying power in the Stockholm Council which, despite all the resistance of sectarian spirits (who were not lacking even there), brought it safely to its goal. This love found its most visible expression in the services which united together members of all Churches and sects, from the Eastern Orthodox to the Quaker. In hymns in many languages, taken from the hymnals of all Christian Communions, the assembly sang God's praises 'with one heart and with one voice.' And in a great united prayer each one

repeated the Lord's Prayer in his own mother-tongue. Then in the closing service of the Conference the venerable Patriarch of Alexandria repeated in the cathedral of Scandinavian Upsala the Nicene Creed, in the Greek tongue in which it was originally composed. It was, as the eighty-year-old Shepherd of the Church, standing on the threshold of the other world, solemnly avowed, the crowning point of his long life. The *Una sancta Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia*, which here unveiled itself in all its glory, is no dream of cloud-dwelling enthusiasts, but a great reality, the fulfilment of that ancie- Pentecostal prayer which in Stockholm we so often united in repeating :

'*Veni Creator Spiritus*
Reple tuorum corda fidelium
Et tui amoris in eis ignem accende,
Qui per diversitatem linguarum cunctarum
Gentes in unitate fidei congregasti. Halleluja !' *

* 'Come, O Creative Spirit,
Fill the hearts of Thy faithful people,
And kindle in them the flame of love to Thee
Who hast gathered the nations, for all their diversity of tongues,
Into the unity of the One Faith.'

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2. *Esquisse d'une Philosophie de Religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire.* Eng. trans., 'Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion,' 1897.

3. Cf. Paul Sabatier, *Les Modernistes*, Paris, 1909², 43.

4. Cf. Söderblom, *När studerna växla och strida*, iv., Stockholm, 1921, 67 f.

5. For a criticism see Wilhelm Schmidt, *Menschheitswege zum Gotterkennen, rationale, irrationale, superrationale*, Kempten, 1923. J. Geiselmann, *Das Irrationale Ottos im Lichte des katholischen Glaubensbegriffs*, 'Tübingen Theologische Quartalschrift,' 1924, 51 ff.

[There is an English translation of Otto's *Das Heilige* under the title 'The Idea of the Holy,' by

* As it does not appear that any useful purpose will be served by translating the German titles of untranslated books, these have been left in the original. Where, however, a translation is known to exist, a reference to this has been given. It will be observed also that the author has himself given references to the works of the English scholars Brightman, Swainson, Warren, Srawley, Bishop, Field and others.—*Translator.*

John Harvey, Oxford, 1923, and an article upon it by Dr. Oman in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxv. 275.]

6. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 1922[14], 546. Cf. F. X. Kiefl, *Der Modernismus*, Hochland, 1907-8; reprinted in *Katholische Weltanschauung und modernes Denken*, 1922, 385 ff.

7. Karl Barth, *Der Römerbrief*, Munich, 1922[2]; Friedrich Gogarten, *Die religiöse Entscheidung*, 1921; Emil Brunner, *Erlebnis, Erkenntnis, Glaube*, Tübingen, 1922; *Die Mystik und das Wort*, Tübingen, 1923; *Zwischen den Zeiten*, issued by G. Merz, with the co-operation of Karl Barth, Friedrich Gogarten, and Eduard Thurneysen.

8. Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. x. 17, xii. 27; Eph. iv. 12, v. 30; Col. i. 18, 24.

9. G. Pfeilschister, *Die kirchlichen Wiedervereinigungsbestrebungen der Nachkriegszeit*, Munich, 1923; René H. Wallbaum, *Die Einigung der Kirche vom christlichen Glauben aus. Der kirchliche Einigungsgedanke biblisch, christentumsgeschichtlich und kirchenpolitisch untersucht und dargestellt*, Berlin, 1925. Numerous essays in the *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Berne.

10. Cf. Hermelink, *Katholizismus und Protestantismus der Gegenwart*, Gotha, 1923.

11. *Der heilige Benedikt*, Düsseldorf, 1923[2]; *Alte Quelle neuer Kraft*, Düsseldorf, 1920; *Lumen Christi* (Collected Essays), Munich, 1924.

11b. *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen*, edited by P. Kunibert Mohlberg und Adolf Rücker, Münster. (Up to the present, eight parts have appeared.) *Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen*, edited by Franz Dölger and

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12. Freiburg (Herder), up to the present, eleven small volumes.

13. J. Kramp, *Opfermahl oder Kommunionandacht*, 'Stimmen der Zeit,' 1921, 209 ff.; *Eucharistia*, von ihrem Wesen und ihrem Kult, Freiburg, 1924.

14. Nikolas Ehelen, *Von der religiösen Idee der modernen Jugendbewegung*, *Jahrbuch des Verbandes katholischer Akademiker*, 1920-1.

15. Literature: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, *Oxfordbewegung* (the Oxford Movement), iv. 1101. See also Ynge Brilioth, *Nyanglikansk Renässans*, *Studier till den engelska Kyrkens utveckling under* 1800, Pt. III.: *Oxfordrörelsen kyrkobegrepp och fromhetsart*, Upsala, 1923 (Eng. trans., 'The Anglican Revival: Studies on the Oxford Movement, by the Rev. Ynge Brilioth, D.Phil. With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, London, 1925. Review in *J. T. S.*, Oct. 1925, p. 107).

16. *Agende für Christliche Gemeinden lutherischen Bekenntnisses*, 1848; *Haus-, Schul-, und Kirchenbuch für Christen lutherischen Bekenntnisses*, i. 1845, ii. 1851.

17. Cf. *Die Hochkirche*, the monthly review issued

by the Hochkirchliche Vereinigung (Bomst, Grenzmark Posen), up to the present, seven annual volumes. H. Rost, *Katholisierende Strömungen im heutigen Protestantismus*, Munich, 1925. Characteristic of the opposing attitude in Protestant circles is M. Schian, *Die Reform des Gottesdienstes und die hochkirchliche Bewegung*, Giessen, 1922.

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57. R. Guardini, *Vom Geist der Liturgie*, 10.

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59. Thom. Aquin., *Summa*, iii. q. 68, a. 1; Denziger, *Enchiridion*[14], nr. 698.

59b. S. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 138.

60. Cf. *Der Kath.*, 400 ff., 700; see also O. Casel, *Neues zur Epiklesenfrage, Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 1924, 169 ff.

61. Cf. *Der Kath.*, 178 f., 202 ff.

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63. Cf. *Der Kath.*, 226.

64. *Ibid.*, 526 ff.

65. Cf. my article upon Friedrich von Hügel in the *Christliche Welt*, 1925, 268.

66. *Commonitorium pro catholicae fidei antiquitate et universitate*, 2.

67. Cf. *Der Kath.*, 505 ff.

68. Luther's Works, Erlangen Edition, 20, i., 114 ff. (Contracted henceforward as Erl.)

69. Erl., 10^2, 142.

70. Erl., 22, 155.

71. Erl., 22, 235, 153, 155.

72. Cf. Erl., opp. ex. 2, 170 ff.

72b. Erl., 35, 299.

73. Augustine, *In Joann. Ev. Tract.* 80, 3; *Contra Faustum Manich.* 19, 16.

74. Erl., 28, 251.

75. Erl., 27, 147.

76. Erl., 27, 153.

77. Aug., *In Joann. Tract.* 80, 3.

78. Erl., 27, 153.

79. Erl., 28, 87 f.

80. Weimar Ed. 6, 532.

81. *Der Lutherische Gottesdienst des 16ten Jahrhunderts, sein Werden und sein Wachsen*, Munich, 1923.

82. Erl., 12^a, 232.

82b. Th. Harnack, *Einleitung und Grundlegung der praktischen Theologie I*, Erlangen, 1877; Fr. Rendtorff, *Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes unter dem Gesichtspunkt der liturgischen Erbfolge*, Giessen, 1924; P. Drews,

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83. *Svenska Psalmboken av konungen gillad och stadfäst*, 1819. Cf. the admirable article by Edv. Rohde, *Das gottesdienstliche Leben Schwedens* in 'Kultus und Kunst' (v. *sup.*, note 18), 131 ff.

84. Cf. *sup.*, note 16.

85. Calvin, *La forme des prières ecclésiastiques*, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 34, 172 ff.; *Die calvinische und altstrassburgische Gottesdienstordnung*, 1894; F. Heitz, *Calvin's liturgische Grundsätze*, *Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie*, 1887.

86. '. . . afin que tous ensemble l'adorions d'un cœur et d'une bouche et donnions hommage à ton Christ nostre Maistre, Roy et Législateur,' Calvin, *loc. cit.*, 177. ('. . . to the end that we may all adore Him with one heart and one voice, and render homage to Thy Christ, our Master, King, and Law-giver.')

87. The stanzas quoted in the text are taken from the *Nouveau Recueil de psaulmes et cantiques à l'usage des églises françaises*, Frankfort and Offenbach, 1787.

88. R. Otto, *Das Heilige*, p. 236[8].

89. Cf. Violet Hodgkin, *Schweigender Dienst der Pfad des Staunens*, 1921.

90. G. Heyde, *Evangelische Kultusformen in der Brüdergemeine* in 'Kultus und Kunst,' 152 ff.

91. Cf. Thimme, *Kirche, Sekte und Gemeinschaftsbewegung*, Schwerin, 1924.

92. Good description, with bibliography. *Rel. Gesch. Geg.*, i. 1868 ff.; also Field, *The English Liturgies of* 1549 *and* 1661 *compared with each other and with the ancient liturgies*, London, 1920.

93. *Die liturgie und andere Gottesdienste der Kirche*, Zurich, 1910.

94. *Gebetbuch der christkatholischen Kirche der Schweiz*, Solothurn, 1917[7]; *Katholisches Gesang und Gebetbuch für die Altkatholiken des deutschen Reiches*, Freiburg, 1924.

95. Cf. my article, *Fünfzig Jahre Altkatholizismus*, in connection with the death of Bishop Eduard Herzog, in the *Christliche Welt* for 1924, 651 ff., 699 ff.

96. *Hirtenbriefe aus den Jahren*, 1887-1901, 36, 180.

97. Luther, Erl. 28, 82; 30, 371 f.; 41, 303; 60, 462 ff.; Calvin, *Sermon sur le Deuteronome*, Corp. Ref. 57 (29), 214.

98. Heiler, *Das Wesen des Katholizismus* (six lectures delivered in Sweden, 1920, 109).

99. *Das Wesen des Katholizismus*, 107.

100. *Den ortodoxa kyrkan och frägan om sammanslutning mellan de kristus kyrkorna* in: *den ortodoxa kristenheten*

och kyrkans enhet, published by the Olaus-Petristiftung, Stockholm, 1921, 18.

101. For details see the admirable work of Nikolas von Arseniew, *Vom Geist der morgenländischen Kirche*, in 'Ostkirche und Mystik' (Aus der Welt christlicher Frommigkeit), 1924, 1 ff.

102. Liturgy of St. Chrysostom in Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 377.

103. Ignatius, *Ad. Eph.* xx. 2; Anaphora of Serapion in Rauschen, *Florilegium patristicum*, 7; *Monumenta Eucharistica*, 1914, 31.

104. *Den ortodoxa kristenheten och kyrkans enhet*, 10.

105. Quoted in Arseniew, 'Ostkirche und Mystik,' 30.

106. Theodorus Studita, *Cat. parv.*, Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, 99, 393.

107. Joseph Hörmann, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laienbeicht*, Donauwörth, 1913.

108. *Scal.* par. 36, Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, 88, 1020.

109. Glubokowski, *ut sup.*, 13, 62 ff.

110. Cat. 18, 23. Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, 33, 1043.

111. In earlier times, it is true, the Eastern Church exhibited an exclusiveness similar to that of the Roman, Lutheran, and Calvinistic Churches. Numerous examples in Glubokowski, *ut sup.*

112. Association for fellowship in work with the 'Hochkirchlich-ökumenischer Bund' (High-Church Ecumenical League), formed on the 18th of June 1925; *Una Sancta*, 1925, 110; similarly Glubokowski, *ut sup.*, 61 ff. Very noteworthy is the lecture of Archbishop Germanos on 'Methods of Co-operation by the Churches in practical and organising work,' which

appears in the Official Report of the Stockholm Conference.

113. The Bull 'Unam Sanctam' of Boniface VIII.; Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstums*, 4th ed., nr. 372.

114. MacCabe, *Crises of the History of Papacy*, 1916, 175.

115. *Les Modernistes*, Paris, 1909, 60.

116. Mirbt *ut sup.*, nr. 512.

117. *Rom und der Orient, Jesuiten und Melchiten, Veröffentlichungen von Dokumenten, Briefen und Aufzeichnungen, im Namen der Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit und Barmherzigkeit*, Berlin, 1912.

118. *Pourquoi Luther n'a-t-il créé qu'un Christianisme allemand*, 'Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale, 1918,' 576 ff.

119. See *e.g.* Horst Stephan, *Evangelische Glaubenslehre*, Giessen, 1920.

INDEX

Actio, 44, 61 f.
Agape, 30 f.
Albertus Magnus quoted, 63.
Anaphora, East Syrian, 50.
Anglican Church, 10 f., 107 f., 185 f.
Anglo-Catholic Movement, 10, 186 f.
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 18, 30, 139, 150, 152, 163, 167.
Athanasius, St., 133, 150.
Augustine, St., 18, 79, 81, 150, 152.

Barnabas, *Ep.*, 38.
Barth, Karl, 5, 14, 184.
Baumgarten, 161.
Bellarmine, 161.
Benedict, St., 8, 168.
Benedictines, 8, 192.
Benediction, Aaronic, 90.
Beuron, Monastery of, 8.
Billing, Bishop Einar, 89.
Bishop, early status of, 152 f.
Bishop, Edmund (quoted), 63, note.
Blondel, 4.
'Body of Christ,' the, 22, 41 f.
Bousset, 17.
Bultmann, 17.

Calvin, 19, 99, 101, 108.
Calvinistic Church, 14, 44; Service, 95 ff.
Cantiques, Huguenot, 97, 101
Catherine of Siena, St., 163.
Catholicity—
  Anglican, 185 f.
  Calvinistic, 180 ff.
  Eastern, 140 ff.
  Lutheran, 179,
  Old-Catholic, 193.
  Roman, 149 ff.
Catholic-Apostolic Service, 109 f.
Chomiakov quoted, 137.
'Christ-Mysticism,' 17, 72, 165.
Chrysostom, St. John, 18, 53.
—— Liturgy of, 46, 51 f.
Church, revived interest in, 6 f.
  St. Paul's teaching on, 22, 124 f.
  St. Ignatius on, 25.
  Eastern, Roman, etc. (*See* under these headings.)
Church-Year, the, 59 f.
Civitas Dei, 151.
Clement of Alexandria, St., 22.
Codex Juris Canonici, 62, 155.
Communion, Daily, 11, 165. (*See also* Lord's Supper and Eucharist.)
Congregatio Rituum, 61.
Creeds, 68, 89, 195.
Curia, 156 f., 161.
Cyprian, St., 152, 154.

Cyril of Jerusalem, St., 141.

Dante, 163, 167.
Deissmann, 17.
'Dialectic' Theology, 5, 185.
Divisions—
  in Early Church, 125 f.
  between East and West, 127 f.
  between Catholic and Protestant, 129 f.
Dominus Vobiscum, 68.
'Door, Royal,' 53.

Easter Ceremonies, 56 f., 60 f., 134.
Eastern Church, 11, 43 f., 45 ff., 128 f., 132 ff.
—— Liturgies, 45 ff., 144.
Ecclesia Orans, 9.
Encyclical, *Pascendi*, 5.
'Entrance, Little,' 49.
'——, Great,' 49.
Epiklesis (Invocation), 27, 49, 65 f.
Eucharist, 10, 11, 25 f., 49 f., 63 f., 165.
Eucharistic Prayer, the, 36, 39 f., 45, 65.
Evangelical Churches—
  Services of, 75 ff.
  Catholicity of, 175 ff.

'Faith and Order' Movement, 7, 186 f.
Fendt, Leonhard, 83.
Feuerbach, 5.
Fogazzaro, 4.
Francis of Assisi, St., 4, 18, 163, 168.
Franzén, 83.

Gerhardt, Paul, 83.
Gloria, the, 68, 88.
Glubokowski, N., 132, 136.
Gogarten, F., 5, 184.
Gratia sola in Lutheranism, 85 f.
Gregorian Chants, 58.
Gregory of Nyssa, 150.
Guardini, Romano, 9, 163.
Guéranger, Dom, 8.

Harnack, 132.
Heresies, Early, 127.
Herzog, Bishop E., 71, 111 f., 193 f.
Hofbauer, C. M., 163.
Hügel, Baron F. von, 73, 108, 163, 166.
Huvelin, Abbé, 163.
Hymns—
  Calvinist, 101.
  Lutheran, 83, 101.

Ignatius of Antioch, quoted, 25, 33, 123.
—— Loyola, 19, 157, 159.
Ikonostasis, 48, 53.
Imbart de la Tour, 182.
Index librorum prohib., 160.
Innocent III., 154.
Intercession, General, 31, 45, 90, 136.
Invitation, 45.
Invocation. See *Epiklesis*.
Isaiah, Temple vision of, 15 f.

Jesuits, 9, 157, 161.
Johannine (Eastern) type of Christianity, 130, 145 ff.
Juridical language of Roman Liturgy, 62 f.

Kiss of Peace, 31.
Kyrie Eleison, 68, 88.

Laberthonnière, 4.

Leroy, 4.
Lex Sacra, 61.
Liberalism, Theological, 5, 184.
'Life and Work' Movement, 7, 187.
Liturgical Movements, 8 f.
Liturgies—
  Anglican, 108.
  Catholic-Apostolic, 109 f.
  Eastern, 45 f.
  Old-Catholic, 110 f.
  Roman, 58 ff.
  Swedish Lutheran, 87 f.
  (*See also* Services).
Löhe, W., 12, 20, 93.
Lord's Supper. *See* Sacrament of.
Luther, 19, 71, 174 ff.
Lutheranism, 44, 75 ff., 174 ff.

MacFarland, 188.
Maranatha, 27.
Maria Laach, Monastery of, 8, 192.
Missions, Roman, 167, 168 f.
Modernism, 4.
Möhler, 163.
Monasticism—
  Eastern, 138 f., 169.
  Roman, 169.
Monod, A., 19.
—— Wilfred, 187.
Moravian Brethren, 103 f.
Mysticism—
  Eastern, 170.
  Roman, 170.

Newman, Cardinal, 130, 163.
Nicene Creed, 89, 195.

Olaus Petri, Prayer of, 87 f.
Old-Catholic Church, 110, 193.
Opus operatum, 61, 165.
'Orthodox' Church. *See* Eastern.
Otto, Rudolf, 4, 13 f.
Oxford Movement, 10, 108, 186.

Paternoster, 68, 90.
Paul, St., 16, 173.
Pauline (Evangelical) type of Christianity, 130, 173 f.
'Pentecostal Christians,' 105 f.
Peter, St., 170 f.
Petrine (Roman) type of Christianity, 130, 170 ff.
Philokalia, 140.
Photius, Patriarch, 191, 195.
Pius X., 5, 157, 165; XI., 157.
Plenitudo Potestatis, 69, 157.
'*Pneuma*-mysticism,' 17, 104.
Preaching—
  Calvinistic, 101, 102.
  Lutheran, 89 f., 92 f.
Propaganda Fidei, 169.

Quakers, 103 f.

Rationalism, 92.
Real Presence, 26 f., 63 ff., 100.
Rist, Johann, 83.
Roman Church, 44, 58 ff., 149 ff.
—— Liturgy, 59 ff.
—— Primacy, development of, 67, 152 ff.

Sabatier, Auguste, 3.
—— Paul, 4, 156, 187.
Sacrament of Lord's Supper—
  in Calvinistic Church, 100.
  in Lutheran Church, 79 ff.
  in Moravian Church, 103.
  in Primitive Church, 27 ff.
  (*See also* Eucharist.)
Sacrifice of Mass, 63 f.

Sagnier, Marc, 164.
Sailer, Bishop, 163.
Salvation Army, 103, 105.
Schell, Herman, 160.
Schian, Martin, 14.
Schleiermacher, 3, 4, 184.
Schmolck, Benjamin, 83.
Services—
  Anglican, 10 f., 108 f.
  Calvinistic, 95 ff., 116 f.
  Catholic-Apostolic, 109 f.
  Eastern, 45 ff., 134 f.
  Lutheran, 75 ff., 116.
  Moravian, 104.
  Old-Catholic, 110 f., 116.
  Pentecostal Christian, 105 f.
  Quaker, 103 f.
  Roman, 58 ff., 115 f.
  Salvation Army, 105.
Silence, Sacrament of, 13 f.
Smend, Professor, 13.
Sohm, Rudolf, 22.
Soli Deo gloria, in Calvinism, 96 ff.
'Spirit of Christ,' the, 22, 41 f.
Spitta, Professor, 13.
St. Augustine. (*See* Augustine, St.)
St. John, 17, 130
St. Paul, 16, 173.
Sursum corda, 40, 68, 99.
Symeon, 'the New Theologian,' 50, 55, 140.

Tersanctus, 23, 40, 52, 68.
Tertullian, quoted, 37, 168.
Thanksgiving, Prayer of, 36, 39 ff., 45, 65.
Thomas Aquinas, St. *See* Aquinas.
—— à Kempis, 102.
Transubstantiation, 26, 64, 71.
Trishagion. See *Tersanctus*.
Tyrrell, 4, 163.

Urban VIII., 158.
Uxküll, Baroness, 161.

Vincent de Paul, St., 19.
—— of Lerins, St., 73.

Wallin, 83.
Wetter, 17.
Wittig, Joseph, 157, 160.
Worship, Primitive Christian, etc. (*See* Services, etc.)

Youth, Catholic, Movement, 9 f., 164.

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forms and manifestations in the

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